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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

VACLAV HAVEL GIVES FIRST INTERVIEW AFTER RELEASE FROM JAIL

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 25 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by Carina Beckerman: "Founder of Charter 77 Released--Havel Optimistic Despite Years in Prison"]

[Text] Vaclav Havel, the famous Czech dramatist and one of the founders of the citizens' rights movement Charter 77 has been released after nearly 4 years in prison.

The authorities did everything to silence the news of Havel's release, but it still spread like wildfire through Prague, and became common knowledge in a few hours.

I met Havel and his wife Olga in Anna Sabatova's home. Sabatova is married to Peter Uhl, who remains in prison. Havel sat cross-legged, huddled on a bed. He spoke with friends and acquaintances. The room was full of people coming and going. They were all there to meet Havel and find out how he was.

Outwardly he seems well, but inwardly he still suffers from his severe liver problem. It was because of this that he was released several months early. His sentence does not run out before December of this year.

The 48-year-old Vaclav Havel is Czechoslovakia's most outstanding dramatist and his plays are performed in many places around the world. But in Czechoslovakia they have long been forbidden. After 1977 he became known mostly for his involvement in the citizens' rights movement Charter 77 in which he was one of the driving forces.

He stands as a symbol of the struggle for freedom of expression and truth in his homeland. Many cultural activities have taken place in his home over the years. His house outside Trutnov suddenly burned down after the banned rock group The Plastic People had a concert there. It is not known how the fire started.

## Treated Well

"How was the time in prison at Hermanice?"

"For the most part I was well treated in prison," answered Havel. "Despite there being all possible kinds of people, the guards behaved perfectly toward us. Some of them actually tried to help us, and their conduct often surprised and pleased me."

"Were you allowed to write in prison?"

"I was strictly forbidden to use a pen or take any notes, not even in a diary. Now and then I was allowed to write a letter to my wife, but some of them were returned as 'unsuitable.'"

"I tried as hard as I could to carry out the orders of the prison authorities because I feared being put in an isolation cell. I never could have stood that."

## Unbearable Thought

"The thought of 5 years in prison, to which I was first sentenced, sometimes seemed unbearable," said Havel as we sat and conversed. "But my interest in extreme situations helped me to a certain extent to overcome the difficulties. I tried to see the entire issue as an interesting and crazy experiment. But sometimes it was hard. Very hard."

"How does it feel to be free again?"

"Although I tried very hard to prepare myself for my new life of freedom, I am feeling frightened and nervous," he replied. "I have problems with simple things. For example, simply crossing the street. I do not know what I will do, and constantly brood over what is going to happen in the next months. Everything is still so new. After a while I will take up writing again. But just now I do not feel strong enough to start writing."

Havel explained that a precondition for his release was that he promised that he would not officially criticize the regime. Nobody knows whether he will keep that promise. He himself will say nothing. The authorities are trying to muzzle him with threats of further punishment. Havel's wife, who has had nervous problems during the entire time and has occasionally been deeply depressed, now wants him to be more careful.

## Optimistic About the Future

"Are you still optimistic about Czechoslovakia's future?"

"Yes, I am still optimistic, despite the time in prison. The Czech society is a sick body, but over the long term it will heal itself."

In his book "Power of the Powerless" Havel writes about the double life which exists in so many parts of Czech society. He especially sees the well-developed underground culture as proof that the truth will finally win. The Czechs have a democratic tradition, and in the long run can not accept anything other than a life of truth. In today's Czechoslovakia every divergent conduct is regarded with suspicion. Individuality is punished. The strict regulations, and primarily the self-censure, are gradually leading to stagnation and death, according to Havel.

"But how can you continue to be optimistic when so many of your friends remain in forced exile? Does that not worry you?"

"Yes, of course that depresses me. I am especially frightened by the impoverishment of cultural life."

Since Havel was imprisoned in 1979, most of the foremost authors, historians, musicians and philosophers who supported Charter 77 have been driven into exile. Police abuse during interrogations is increasing. The demand for conformity is all the more firm. It is a view of the future which causes even the strongest to doubt.

Philosophers Vaclav Benda and Peter Uhl are both still sitting in prison. Together with Havel they introduced the Charter 77 period. They were key figures in the movement.

Vaclav Havel was the one who in 1978 initiated contact between Charta 77 and Solidarity in Poland.

Unwilling to Take a Stand

But today Havel is unwilling to take a stand on events in Poland and express himself about Solidarity. Frightened? Careful?

"I hope the situation resolves itself for the best, that is all that I will say." The look in his eyes wavers for a moment. He looks uncertain.

Then he quickly changes the subject and returns to talking about his time in prison.

His gaze again becomes serious. The time in prison has left a deep imprint.

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CSO: 3650/156

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MILITARY IMPLICATIONS OF RADON RADIOACTIVITY DISCUSSED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 1, 1983 (signed to press 12 Nov 82) pp 46-49

['Principles, Functions, Trends' feature article by Reserve Colonel K. Langhans and A. Langhans, engineers, economists: "Military Alpha Radiation Measurements of Radon and Its Reaction Products"]

[Text]

1. Need for Measurements of Radon and Radon Reaction Products

Because of the geological configuration and special space-utilization factors, in certain objects there can be unacceptably high radon (Rn) or radon reaction product (RnF) concentrations--as already discussed in detail in [1]. This potential exists in particular in the South districts (Erfurt, Suhl, Halle, Dresden, Gera and Karl-Marx-Stadt) if underground spaces there are used under unfavorable hermetic and ventilation conditions.

The named districts belong in part to the Central European "Uranium Province", according to [2], which was generated in the second period of deposits formation toward the end of the Precambrian era (180 to 280 million years ago), during the Hercynian convolution. From the primary tectonic deposits, weathering, leaching and other transport processes have since formed the secondary uranium deposits in the North CSSR, in the South GDR and in the FRG. A sure indication for such deposits are the Radium (Ra) and Rn-containing "Cure"-springs in Jachimov (CSSR) whose radioactivity concentration can be up to several 1000 ME (Mache units, obsolete unit of radioactivity concentration). 1 ME corresponds to 13.5 kBq (Becquerel)(360 nCi) per liter of spring water, in today's units. According to [3], the spring in Jachimov should contain 11.1 kBq (310 nCi) of Rn/l. For comparison note that Ra and Rn are classed in the highest radiotoxicity group and that their safe, harmless "exposure limit" lies at only 100 nCi (i.e. 1/3 of the Jachimov water).

Figure 1 provides a simplified overview of the origination and propagation of Rn and RnF in and above a uraninite deposit (from [3]). Unacceptable RnF-concentrations can occur not only directly over



a uranium deposit--as simplified in figure 1--but also many kilometers away from it, e.g. if the Ra is leached out and shifted away. In addition, relatively small uranium concentrations can emit considerable radiation under unfavorable conditions. The most important thing about fig. 1 for this report is that Rn from the seam moves directly and via water (riverlets) into an underground zone (even through earth layers several dm-thick), collects there and can change into its radioactive reaction products.

In contrast to the noble gas Rn, the RnF (see table 1; not included) are deposited on aerosols in the air and if the air is very clean, they are deposited primarily on walls and other objects. The onset of radioactive equilibrium between Rn and RnF is important for an interpretation of the measured results also depends on the dust content and dust behavior; in practical cases this equilibrium lies between 0.1 and 0.8. Whereas the long-lived RnF can be neglected due to their low radioactivity concentration, the short-lived ones represent the main danger for unprotected men. The lung injury caused by inhaled RnF is manifested stochastically (with certain probability) in an increased risk of lung cancer with latency periods of usually more than 15 years.

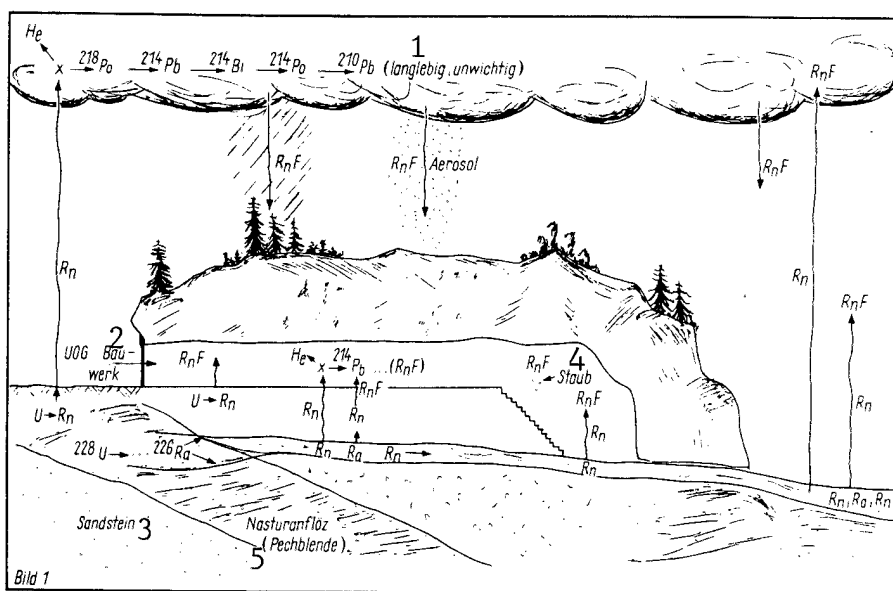


Figure 1. Origination and Propagation of Radon-222 and its Reaction Products.

Key: 1-long-lived, unimportant      4-dust  
 2-mineshaft                              5-uraninite  
 3-sandstone

Therefore, the parliament of the GDR established Maximum Permissible Concentrations (MZK) in [4] which may only be exceeded, even in military zones, in exceptional cases and when suitable precautionary measures are taken, e.g. wearing of protective mask. Adherence to

the Max. permissible concentrations (MZK), Max. permissible annual activity absorption (MZjA), Max. permissible annual (radiation) exposure (MZjB) and Max. permissible operating level (MZW) can be assured in part through quite simple and less complicated protective measures (the most important ones are presented in [1]), as soon as the danger is recognized by special detection and control measurements and its extent is determined.

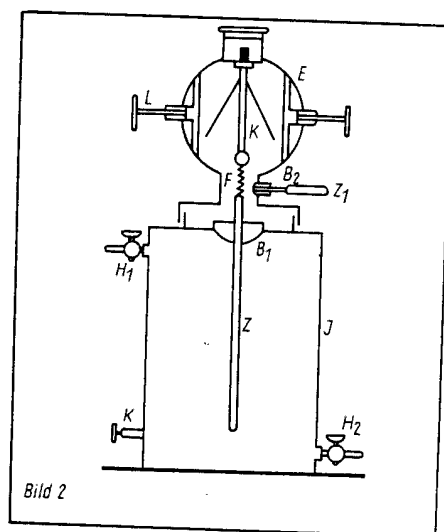


Fig. 2: Older Emanation Electroscope, from [6].  
 $B_{1,2}$  Bernstein isolators, K: Contacts, E: Electroscope,  
 L: Air gap adjustment,  $H_{1,2}$ : Inlet and outlet  
 valve, Z: Central electrode, F: Contact spring,  
 $Z_1$ : Feed mechanism for the charging voltage,  
 I: Ionization chamber

For radioactivity measurements specifically in the area of nuclear radiation control, the nuclear radiation measuring equipment developed for protection from nuclear weapons are sometimes unsuitable and sometimes suitable only with special accessories and by using special methods which could not be included in the equipment handbooks. For the civilian sphere as well there are no domestically produced (GDR) and only a few (no complete assortment) of series-produced equipment for Rn and RnF-measurement, since this problem was not fully recognized internationally until the last decade and additional research work is still needed before production can begin.

In order to provide radiation protection to the Rn and RnF-endangered zones (UCG) which are being used increasingly in peacetime and which will be greatly endangered in the event of war, in this report an overview is given first of the measured quantities, limit values and possible measuring methods and then the special measuring equipment in the GDR and specifically in the E. German Army (NVA) will be discussed in more detail.

## 2. Measured Quantities and Limit Values

To estimate the risk connected with Rn and RnF inhalation, according to [4] the radioactivity concentration  $A'$  is to be measured in Bq/cm<sup>3</sup> (Ci/cm<sup>3</sup>) and the radioactivity absorption  $A$  in Bq (Ci). But since the MZK and MZjA for Rn and RnF are given under the presumption that the Rn is in equilibrium with its short-lived RnF ( $G = 1$ ,  $G$ : symbol for radioactive equilibrium, gram, mass unit), which is particularly difficult to estimate and rarely occurs in military practice, the measured quantities (equivalent to, but not connected with the equilibrium condition) of potential alpha energy concentration  $E'_{pa}$  is given in MeV/cm<sup>3</sup>\* and potential alpha energy absorption  $E_{pa}$  is given in MeV.

In addition, in the NVA the derived operating point value  $W$  ( $W = E'_{pa} \text{ measured} / E_{pa} \text{ max. permissible}$ ) and potential alpha energy exposure  $B$  ( $B = W \cdot t$ ) and corresponding (preliminary) MZW and MZjB are used. In order to better allocate the same units (due to the dimensionless  $W$ ) for the time  $t$  and the exposure  $B$  (a time weighted with  $W$ ), in the NVA the hours of exposure  $h'$  is used. In table 2 all limit values for Rn or RnF of interest for practical measurements in the NVA are compiled.

For a better understanding of the partly unusual quantities one can compare  $E'_{pa}$  and  $W$  with dose rates and  $E_{pa}$  and  $B$  with radiation doses (these are not equal!). The special radiation quantities of operating point value  $W$  and exposure  $B$  are applicable not only to Rn and RnF--at least as long as SAAS (State Agency for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection of the GDR) makes no other specifications--but also for other radiation risks, like gamma radiation, x-ray radiation and non-Rn related radioactive gases and dusts.

$W$  is a general radiation risk factor related to the particular limit value of the exposure category A for a certain operating point (workplace, utility area, housing area). An example is given below as an illustration:

In a poorly isolated storage space UOG (underground), on the average a severe gamma radiation of Peta ( $P$ ) = 10  $\mu$ Sv/h, a potential alpha energy concentration of  $E'_{pa} = 1,6 \mu\text{J}/\text{m}^3$  (RnF) and a tritium concentration of  $A_T = 37 \text{ kBq}/\text{m}^3$  (in standard units:  $P = 1 \text{ mrem}/\text{h}$ ,  $E'_{pa} = 10 \text{ MeV}/\text{cm}^3$  and  $A_T = 1 \text{ pCi}/\text{cm}^3$ ). The (derived) limit values for these toxins according to [4] for exposure category A (control range) and max. 2000 working hours per year, are:

$P_{\text{max.}} 25 \mu\text{Sv}/\text{h}$  (2,5 mrem/h),

$E'_{pa \text{ max.}} 6,4 \mu\text{J}/\text{m}^3$  (40 MeV/cm<sup>3</sup>) and

$A_{\text{max.}} 185 \text{ kBq}/\text{m}^3$  (5 pCi/cm<sup>3</sup>).

\*These symbols or designations are not in general use and are only suggested by the author.

With respect to the specification in [4] for the free limits when simultaneously handling various radionuclides, the (total) operating point value in this case would be:

$$\begin{aligned} W = \sum W_i &= \frac{P}{P_{\max}} + \frac{E_p}{E_{p\alpha\max}} + \frac{A_T}{A_{T\max}} \quad (1) \\ &= \frac{10}{25} + \frac{1,6}{6,4} + \frac{37}{185} \\ &= 0,4 + 0,25 + 0,2 \\ W &= 0,85 \end{aligned}$$

This  $W = 0.85$  computed from easily measured radiation quantities shows on first glance that the defined max. permissible operating point value  $W = 1$  is 85% exhausted at this operating point.

Based on measured  $W$  a fast estimation of the radiation situation can be made at certain operating points. Statements about the radiation risks to personnel or groups of persons will require the determination of the individual or collective radiation exposure  $B$ . As long as suitable personal dosimeters are not available for RnF-exposure which permit a direct, automatic measurement of  $B_{\text{RnF}}$  as a time integral over  $W$ , then  $B$  must be summed indirectly from the partial  $B_i$ . If only the RnF-component is active, then  $B = \sum B_i = \sum W_i \cdot t_i$ . Under complex exposure to various noxae  $W_i$ , we have:

$$B = \sum_{j,i} B_{j,i} = \sum_{j,i} W_{j,i} \cdot t_{j,i} \quad (2)$$

In practice,  $B$  is determined by listing daily for each person or group, the working time  $t$  at operating point BP endangered by RnF and other noxae (in case of severe dynamics of  $W$  at this BP and/or when changing workplace within a shift, or even hourly), together with the effective  $W_i$  and the computed  $B_i$  for the interesting time (usually one month or year) and then adding to a summary exposure  $B$ . This  $B$  is then compared for the particular time period, with the max. permissible exposure, e.g. for the exposure category A of  $MZjB = 2000 \text{ h'}$ . The training aid (not included) shows one such exposure card and a section from an operating-point value book.

Keeping such exposure files (required in many mining operations) in the NVA is only an occasional job. The rule must be that after control measurement of  $W > 0.03$ , the danger must be removed by suitable protective means (e.g. ventilation, isolation, cleaning...) and thus the file is rendered superfluous.

### 3. Measurement Methods and Equipment

The measurement methods (and equipment) can be divided into equipment for measuring radioactivity concentrations, potential energy concentrations and radiation exposure to Rn, Rn+RnF or RnF.

For the older Rn-measuring equipment used primarily for scientific purposes, the emanation electroscope of Ebler shown in fig. 2 (from [6]) is typical. The Rn-air mixture to be measured is pumped through the ionization chamber I via the vacuum-tight stopcocks  $H_1, H_2$ . Now the measurement can be either by the flow-through method for Rn (without RnF!) immediately or after about three-hour standing of the measured air for a measurement of the Rn activation concentration in equilibrium with F. In both cases a filter is used before  $H_1$  which holds back the RnF and passes the Rn. In chamber I the alpha particles from the Rn or Rn+F generate chains of negatrons and ions which discharge the Elster-Geitel electroscope set onto the chamber. The discharge time is inversely proportional to the activation concentration and the chamber volume.

Today, the Rn-activation concentration in the GDR is measured routinely according to the scintillation chamber method visible in fig. 3. The basin (1) is filled (e.g. by the pump of the agent indicator with hand pump--WPChR) with the suspect air and if no

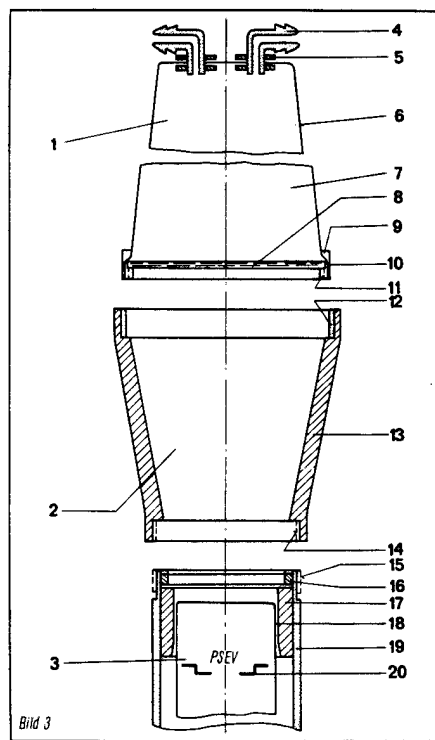


Fig. 3: Sketch of a Scintillation Basin with Adapter and Photo-Secondary Electron Multiplier (PSEV) Measuring Head (retrofittable for RAM 63).

1-Scintillation basin (SB); 2-adapter for the RAM 63/2 probe; 3-head of the RAM 63/2 probe; 4-tube nipples for filling the SB with Rn-containing air; 5-attachment of tube nipples (gas and light-tight); 6-basin wall; 7-phosphor sludge; 8-glass plate

(gas tight); 9-adhesive on the SD seal; 10-gasket (light tight); 11-screw ring to tighten the glass plate; 12-felt ring; 13-adapter wall (reflective) 14-internal threads; 15-external threads for RAM 63/2 16-rubber ring; 17-foam rubber ring (for measurements with SB this ring will also be needed); 18-glass wall of the PSEV; 19-probe wall RAM 63/2; 20-anode of the PSEV.

immediate in-situ measurement occurs, it is sealed air and light-tight and taken within 30 hours to a suitable measuring facility. Of the measuring equipment of the NVA the RAM 63 is suitable for in situ measurements. It has a scintillation basin probe modified as per fig. 2 which is also suitable for measurements at the measurement area 20026 with probe VA-S-968 (without NaI crystal!) in the mobile, radiological-chemical laboratory (RChLab).

In the basin (1) the alpha particles generate light flashes on the wall coated with phosphor. A part of the produced light quanta falls through the adapter 2 into the probe 3 sensitive to light quanta. In the PSEV of the probe the light quanta shower triggers

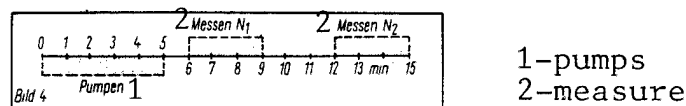


Fig. 4: RnF Measuring Program from Markow

electron avalanches which are boosted and registered. The activity concentration of the measured air results as  $A'_{Rn} = (N - N_0)/U$ , whereby the conversion factor  $U$  depends both on the measurement set-up (e.g. the basin volume) and on the dwell time of the air in the basin, and a table (e.g. table 3) must be set up.

For a fast and simple estimation of the danger situation, from the ratio:

$$\begin{aligned} W_{Rn} &= \frac{A'_{gem}}{A'_{zul}} \\ &= \frac{N - N_0}{1 \text{ Bq/l} \cdot U} \\ &= \frac{N - N_0}{U} \end{aligned} \quad (3)$$

the dimensionless Rn-operating point value  $W_{Rn}$  can be computed, which one may equate with  $W$  only at  $G = 1$  because  $W = W_{Rn} \cdot G$  (full equilibrium between Rn and RnF).

Since  $G$  fluctuates locally and chronologically, in practice it is better to measure  $E_{pa}$  instead of  $A'_{Rn}$  or  $W_{Rn}$ , provided this is possible based on the equipment and organization. The  $E_{pa}$  is

measured in the GDR according to the MARKOW program illustrated in fig. 4 and described in [7] in comparison to other methods.

From the pulse numbers determined from the MARKOW program both the  $E'_{\alpha}$  and  $W$  as well as the activity concentration  $A'$  can be computed for Polonium-218, lead-214 and bismuth-214 using the following formulas.

$$\begin{aligned} E'_{\alpha} &= \frac{0,04 \cdot N_2}{K_F \cdot K_D \cdot V} \\ &= \frac{N_2}{U_E} \text{ in MeV/cm}^3 \end{aligned} \quad (4)$$

$$U_E = \frac{K_F \cdot K_D \cdot V}{0,04}$$

$$\begin{aligned} W &= \frac{E'_{\alpha \text{ gem}}}{E'_{\alpha \text{ zul}}} \\ &= \frac{E'_{\alpha \text{ gem}}}{40 \text{ MeV/cm}^3} \\ &= \frac{N_2}{U_W} \quad (\text{dimensionless}) \end{aligned} \quad (5)$$

$$U_W = \frac{K_F \cdot K_D \cdot V \cdot 40}{0,04}$$

$$A'_{Po} = \frac{0,118 \cdot (N_1 - N_2)}{K_F \cdot K_D \cdot V} \quad (6)$$

$$A'_{Pb} = \frac{0,03 \cdot N_2}{K_F \cdot K_D \cdot V} \quad (7)$$

$$A'_{Bi} = \frac{0,0597 \cdot N_2 - 0,0244 \cdot N_1}{K_F \cdot K_D \cdot V} \quad (8)$$

All results from (6) to (8) in pCi/l, conversion into mBq by multiplying by 37.

Measurement of the number of pulses  $N_1$  and  $N_2$  can be done with the RAM 63 + WPChR described in sec. 4 or more reliably and accurately with the trench radiometer RGR 11 (see sec. 5). In addition, in [8] an alpha counter AZ 1 developed by the SDAG Wismut is offered for use.

The exposure  $B$  is the most important quantity for estimation of the risk due to RnF and it must be determined indirectly from the operating-point values  $W_i$  and the work times at these points  $t_i$  and added to form monthly and annual exposures  $B$ , until suitable RnF dosimeters become available in sufficient numbers. Developments in this regard are promising in three directions. In [9] there are prototypes of two different exposure measuring units.

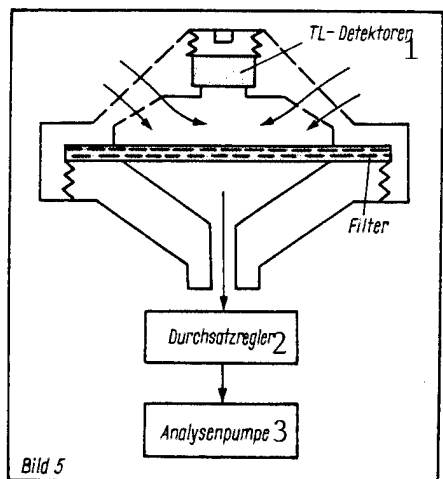


Fig. 5: Operation of the RnF-Dosimeter from [9]

- 1-TL detectors
- 2-flow controller
- 3-analysis pump

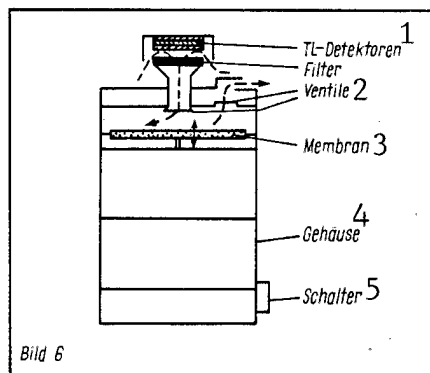


Fig. 6: Operation of the RnF Dosimeter from [9]

- 1-TL detectors
- 2-valves
- 3-membrane
- 4-housing
- 5-switch

Figure 5 shows the operation of a mains-powered, fixed-site dosimeter for RnF. An analysis pump (throughput up to 250 l/h) sucks air through a throughput controller through a glass filter (Neukafil 13-100). The RnF remains on the surface of the lee side of the filter (the Rn noble gas passes through) and a part of their emitted alpha particles strikes the detector. After exposure times of up to several months, the detector can be removed from the device and measured in a thermoluminescence detector evaluation unit calibrated in h'. The lower detection limit of this unit is at  $B = 0.1 \text{ h'}$ .

Figure 6 shows the operation of a battery-powered unit which can be used as a RnF personal dosimeter because of its very low weight (190 g). The membrane pump driven by a 500 mAh NC cell sucks air through a filter placed parallel to the detector--similar to the device described above. In order to operate the dosimeter without battery change for one working month (170 h) with only 3 mW, the air throughput is limited to 2 l/h which gives a lower detection limit of 2.5 h', which is completely sufficient for routine measurements.

A third method for Rn exposure measurement consists in using a nuclear trace foil (e.g. Makrofol) in a filter-detector arrangement similar to the device just described, in which the alpha particles of the RnF leave invisible, small traces which can be enlarged by chemical or electrochemical etching to form microscopically visible etch troughs. The evaluation of such foil dosimeters takes place by counting them off under the microscope or if their numbers are great, by counting with a spark counter densitometer.



#### 4. RnF Measurements with the RAM 63 and WPChR Combination

With a scintillation activity meter RAM 63 [10] and a combat agent indicator WPChR [11] in principle all measured quantities obtained by the MARKOW method described in sec. 3, can be determined. But since the manual counting of the needle deflections on the RAM 63 is possible only up to 300 per 3 minutes and under 30 pulses per minute the statistical error becomes very large, it is recommended to determine only the  $E_{pa}$  or the operating-point values  $W$  with this equipment combination. The information necessary to do this is presented on the model card contained in this issue.

The RAM 63 and WPChR were not developed for RnF measurements. Their use for this purpose is thus complicated, requires some practice and a thorough study of both the two equipment instruction manuals and the special operating instructions.

#### 5. RnF-Measurements with the RGR 11

With the SAAS of the GDR-developed mine radiometer RGR 11 produced specifically for RnF-measurements in mining, reliable and more accurate measurements are possible than with the equipment combination described in section 4. Therefore, for detection measurements which give operating-point values over 0.1, a control measurement should always be requested by a radiation expert with an RGR 11 (which is available only to them at the present).

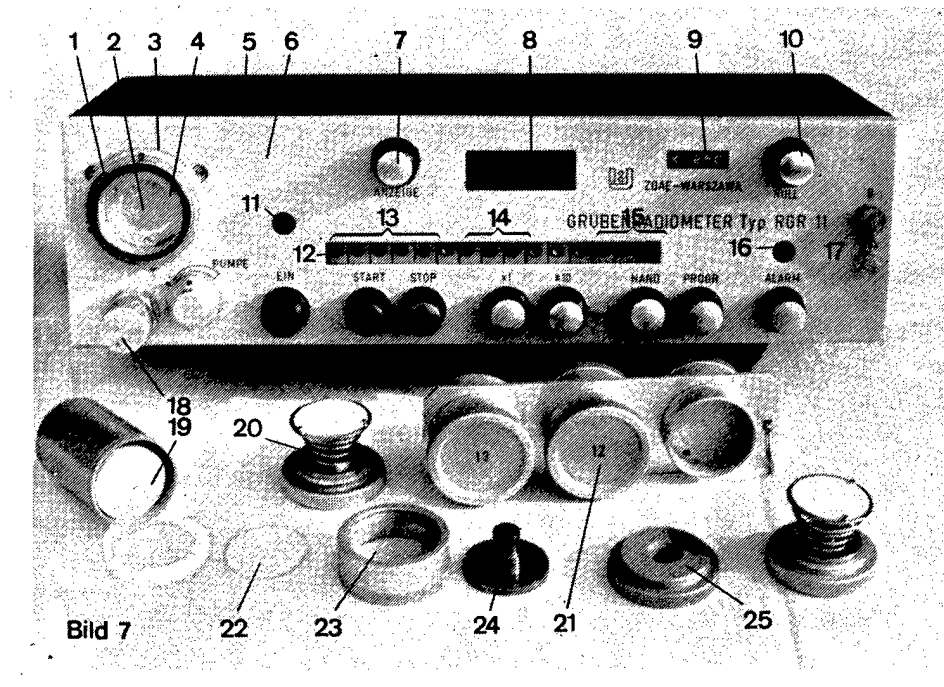


Fig. 7: Front Plate and Accessories of the RGR 11 (Explanation in Training Aid)

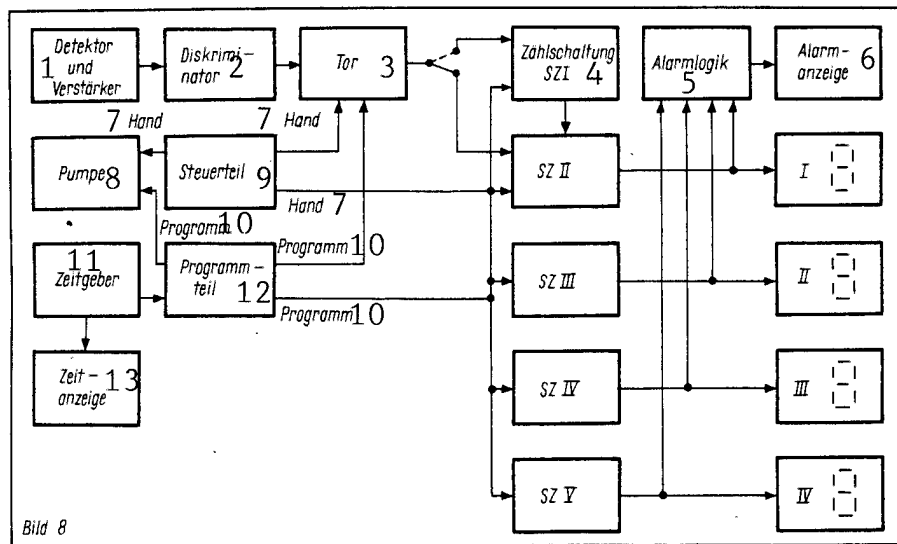


Fig. 8: Block Diagram of the Mine Radiometer RGR 11 from [5]

- |                            |                     |
|----------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Detektor und Verstärker | 8. Pump             |
| 2. Diskriminator           | 9. Control unit     |
| 3. Gate                    | 10. Program         |
| 4. Counting circuit        | 11. Timer           |
| 5. Alarm logic             | 12. Program section |
| 6. Alarm indicator         | 13. Time indicator  |
| 7. Manual                  |                     |

Due to the simple operation of the mostly automated RGR 11, the additional references to the operating instructions are unnecessary and the model instruction card will provide sufficient information. But since at the moment no training documents are available on the RGR 11--in contrast to the equipment named in section 4--the training aid (see carton insert) contains a short explanation of the control elements and accessories.

## 6. Special Features of the RnF Measurements

Due to the considerable dependence of Rn-exhalation on the local ventilation conditions, the time of day and the air-pressure dynamics, each measured result should be obtained under unfavorable ventilation or as a max. value from three measurements, taken between 07 and 09 hours, 11 and 13 hours and 16 and 18 hours. If this is possible from a time standpoint, measurements should also be taken on days with falling air pressure and in constant air pressure. Figure 8 shows the block diagram of the RGR 11 taken from [5].

Although at present the lowest  $MZ_{jB} = 600 \text{ h'}$ , RnF-exposures from at least  $B = 100 \text{ h'}$  must be considered (measured or determined from W and t and recorded) in order to have a reserve for other radiation exposure acting on the lungs (see equation 2).

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9280

CSO: 2300/166

CHANGING FACE OF SOCIALISM DETAILED

Budapest A POLITIKAI FOISKOLA KOZLEMENYEI in Hungarian No 4, 1982 pp 14-22

[Article by Gabor Fodor: "Changing Socialism--The Changing Face of Socialism"]

[Text] Socialism is not a written code. No one can write its complete history, as medieval monks used to. This unfinishedness, the "incomplete socialism," means that the understandings about it reflect a condition of unceasing change.

Of course, 70 or 80 years ago socialism was no more a completed matter than it is now. Modification of the views related to socialism did not accelerate during the last quarter century because less has happened in this respect than ever before, but because more has. We are witnesses for the concept of socialism as it becomes increasingly incarnated, because for more and more people the general aspects become personal experiences and often the abstract and speculative goals take on a multitude of practical forms in more controversial shapes than any theoretical approaches to reality.

In his key novel "Optimists," Ervin Sinko very characteristically presents that special moment when feelings become interwoven with thinking, when the revolutionary situation brings the long range and the operative goals so close to each other as to be hardly distinguishable. A young man comes to the capital city and seeks shelter from a waiter of his acquaintance who lives in a sublet apartment. The landlady asks him how long he actually intends to stay. The young man answers with laconic conciseness with something like not very long, only until the worldwide revolution breaks out. And whoever thinks that by this Sinko grasps the characteristics of a person's age rather than of an era pregnant with revolution knows very little about history. Later, afterwards, all this can also be attributed to naivete, but by doing so--no matter how paradoxical this sounds--we would be hopelessly oversimplifying the nature of the origin of simplifications.

Lenin completed his work "State and Revolution" in 1917, in which on the one hand he constantly warns of the dangers of utopian ideas, but on the other hand he does not consider the relatively quick and dynamic implementation of the state's death to be impossible at all. In this respect he writes the following: "The replacement of the characteristic 'bossiness' of the state's

officials with the simple functions of 'supervisors and bookkeepers' can and must begin immediately, from one day to the next; at their present level of evolution the residents of cities generally can absolutely handle this, and it can absolutely be done for 'workers' wages.'" Lenin had the strength to revise his view not much later, but for posterity it is not immaterial either: what must have led the ingenious politician and the revolutionary who was the embodiment of a theoretician, when he first put his position on paper?

Did Lenin the politician suppress Lenin the theoretician? Did he subordinate his unparalleled theoretical abilities to the dry principle of will? Was he yielding to tactical considerations? Was he perhaps thinking of nothing else except that in a single country, and a backward one at that, socialism may loosen an avalanche of doubts which will hinder action in the revolutionary forces everywhere if this socialism cannot promise the perspective of a relatively quick death of the state? No, this is not so simple. There are still too many things that cannot be precisely foreseen, among which is that the example of the Russian revolution would be a catalyst for the worldwide revolution.

The revolution does not meditate; it lets its descendants do that. They proceed correctly if from time to time they reach back to the original sources, but they cannot avoid disappointment if they hope that these will provide guidance in everything. It must not be viewed as a matter of chance or a mere oversight that Marx and Engels never outlined the preliminary picture of socialism anywhere with the detail that could serve as basis of reference for the extent and quality of the details of its implementation. In contrast with this, more attention must be paid to the concept behind the Marxist-Leninist understanding of history, and the views we have developed about socialism must be purged of the theses and sediment which have often been considered of eternal validity but which have not withstood the test of time.

Ten years ago, at the time of the first explosive rise of the prices of energy sources and raw materials in general, some people started to talk about how this fact also questions the Marxist law of values, because the thesis that work is the source of all richness is collapsing. In reality, Marx had never voiced this oversimplified thesis. To the contrary, he rejected it: "Work is not the source of all richness. Nature can just as well be the source of a useful value (and material richness is made up of these!) as can work, which in itself is also just the manifestation of a natural force: manpower." Thus Marx cannot be blamed for our coming face to face with our own earlier, vulgar interpretations in the early 1970's.

And even though a number of aspects of socialism's current problems cannot be found in the sources, it appears that during the course of studying them more attention must be paid also to those details which condense the essence of Marxist ways of thinking and action with just as much foresight as do the comprehensive theses. When criticizing the Lasalleans, Marx not only proved that inequalities are unavoidable in a transitional society but also tried to show the danger of what it means "if, on the one hand, concepts are forced as dogmas into our party which, even if they did mean something at a certain time, today have become obsolete phrases of clutter, and on the other hand,

if the realistic concept which we have taken such pains to teach to the party, now when it has erected some roots, is again being distorted by ideological, legal and other gibberish favored by the democrats and French socialists." Concerning these same polemics, Engels remarked: "The expression 'Elimination of all social and political inequalities' instead of 'Eliminating all class differentiation' is also a troubling one. These will always remain a certain inequality of the living conditions by countries, provinces or localities, which we can decrease to a minimum but which we will never be able to eliminate completely. The living conditions of the residents of the Alps will always be different from those of the residents of the Lowlands. The concept created about socialist society as the land of equality is a one-sided French idea which relies on the old password of 'freedom, equality, fraternity,' an image which in its own time and place was justified as a definite step of evolution but which, like all other onesidednesses of the earlier socialist schools, must now be considered obsolete because they cause only confusion in people's heads and because more precise ways of expressing these things have been found."

What could justify the lengthy quotation of these passages? At least three reasons can be found for it. First, the Lasallean concept of equality which can be implemented in socialism--and who could state that, even if under another name, our era does not produce such things?--is seen not only as a play of illusions but is qualified as expressly dogmatic concepts. Second, socialists worry about the party and defend it from ideological gibberish--and don't we also have to do the same here and now?--that may cause harm in the realistic ideology which has been so difficult to shape, and in the final analysis they are contributing to the discreditation of ideology. Third, they consider the changes in the picture of socialism justified--and isn't this the way we should also proceed?--and they have no idea that this picture could be a static one and may make itself independent of the new experiences and knowledge.

De te fabula narratur. [The story tells about you, or the story is a revealing one.] Marx and Engels understood socialism as a living, lively process, and there is nothing in favor of rejecting this concept or even just modifying it simply on the basis that in several places this movement has already taken on nationalist, or if you like, overall social dimensions. Socialism was a movement, and it has remained that, completely independent of its status as an institution. Its real problems and true questions were defined by practical life from the beginning up to our day. Its virtues and shortcomings were defined by the manifold opportunities and limitations of human activities, even when these often appeared as "pure" ideologies. Its development was followed all along by real struggles, partly with its outside opponents and partly with the multifaceted intellectual tendencies of utopianism, which even to this day keep constantly regenerating themselves. This is why, among other things, the concept of "existing" or "real" can be isolated from the overall movement only with a certain approach and with a certain content of meaning.

Our party's history has become closely intertwined with the history of socialism in Hungary. The experience of the last 25 years has undoubtedly had

a special role in this joint history, and therefore it is justified to talk about our party's quarter century of experience, behind which, of course, experience with a much broader basis has been accumulated. At the same time it is difficult, on the one hand, to emphasize the longer range continuity and, on the other hand, ignore the commonly known fact that in this country socialism as well as the party are more than 25 years old. The experience began much earlier than this, just that a significant portion of obstacles towering before the implementable consequences has collapsed in a fatally tragic limit situation, burying under itself much bitterness and political impossibilities, but also many illusions, earlier faith and convictions.

The problem of continuity-discontinuity thus indicated can in no way be called discredited. Borrowing the beautiful words of Marietta Saginyan, the past will be growing for a while yet, since it is an essential need of a successful effort aimed at creating peace in society, and the public history of politics is forced to owe us many details due to the lack of a properly detached perspective. Time would not have proven our party's policies, had we not possessed the knowledge after suppressing the counterrevolution which in all respects provided correct and satisfactory explanations for the reasons for 1956. And the fact that this knowledge of ours is still correct today but is no longer sufficient does not lessen but increases the value of the politics we have been conducting since then. Thinking could be directed at the many details, not in spite of but, on the contrary, as the consequence of the things defined then, because during the course of the struggle for consolidation we could not yet deal with those details.

It was the very results of the social investigations initiated and guided by our party that led us to the conclusion that the moral and Marxist-Leninist-based rejection of mistakes and distortions continues to be indispensable. But socialism cannot avoid a thorough analysis which also includes many practical consequences, feasible political structures of which are more resistant than others against such syndromes. The political mentality accepted in our party and in our society, which regards questioning a natural and useful characteristic, at first sought the answer for mistakes to which the personality cult contributed. This same mentality has also led to questioning which mistakes contributed to the development of those things which we list under the collective concept of personality cult.

Analyzing the political structures of socialism is also very necessary because this viewpoint can also make it possible for later generations to feel a sense of continuity with the results and the socialist values born between 1949 and 1953. That is, if it were true that everything and everyone was deformed during that time--as a few films, essays and dissertations attempt to suggest--there would have been no need at all for the structural formations with the aid of which the serious errors and transgressions of some leaders could be kept secret for a while from the masses. If during this period socialism could not have claimed some tangible successes for itself in spite of the bad, sectarian atmosphere permeating public life, there is no method by which the problems could have been covered up. This is the very thing that is so complicated in the whole affair. And all this is only one element in the series of things which make the dimensions of the past

and of the present difficult to define in a number of questions relevant from the viewpoint of describing the condition of socialism.

The dynamics of change within socialism defined so many new questions during one lifetime, and has questioned so many earlier convictions that one must not be surprised at all if the pictures created about socialism are laden with many internal inconsistencies. Without the slightest need for completeness, let us refer here only to a few conspicuous characteristics of those essential processes which can illustrate what is actually involved here.

It is becoming more and more of a problem to define where the realm of the general laws of socialism ends and where the nationalist characteristics are located in it. That is, it can hardly be doubted that essential differences can be demonstrated between our domestic practices and those of the other socialist countries. Indeed, it also has become undeniable that even with the same fundamental interests, differences of interest which can in no way be ignored can develop between the socialist countries, even if they are closely cooperating politically.

In analyzing social experiences, we have also gradually come to recognize that the centralized directive planning system is not the same as the much broader and more complicated institution called planned socialist economy. This was a recognition which again just triggered dismay in those who--for no fault of their own--could imagine only one picture of socialism and felt that they were seeing something suspicious in everything that differed from this. In addition, it has come to light that the more broadly interpreted and more advanced forms of planned socialist economy require a new approach and new treatment of the interest relationships within socialism, which turned loose additional chain reactions.

Acceptance of differences of interest within socialist society has started a process, the consequences of which can hardly be overestimated and which may also generate thorough changes in the system of the political institutions of socialism. It was not possible, and presumably in the future it will be even less possible, to avoid questions about how the various interests can be institutionalized in well-toned and characteristic formats and how these can be characterized in social openness. It is invaluablely significant that we know, and can now support with experience, that a very broad-based political agreement in the most fundamental questions can be developed, even if there are some ideological differences. But the constant need and possibility of this agreement does not exempt us from having to think this through: It does not make it more difficult but rather helps solve a number of socialism's problems if we also take this into consideration: it can also have a place in defining the alternatives within socialism and in seeking the solutions, if people standing on the same ideological foundations but representing various interests will articulate their views politically.

The concept that a person may err but the party never also has become untenable. The party mythicized in the personality cult built on the disimpersonation of the masses, became "worldly," which removes the nimbus of infallibility from everything and everyone. This places mass politization on the



agenda, and with increasing vigor it will force the transformation of political ideology and of political institutions, which today still have many discrepancies. This will be in complete harmony with the Leninist intention that the relationship between revolution and reform will undergo a fundamental change after the victory and solidification of the socialist revolution.

The recognition is also spreading that priority can not be guaranteed for the viable tendencies in the economy if this same process is not taking place also in life's other spheres, because the inviabilities within and outside the economy find natural allies in each other and all efforts for improvement are slowed down. To put it simply, the economy, education, the services, information, transportation, health care--to mention just a few from a long list--presume the mutual efficiency of each other sector of life.

In harmony with the changes in social structure, practicing the political alliance interpreted in the broader sense complements and gradually replaces the contents of the class alliance. But this broad political alliance, pointing far beyond the action programs, had preconditions for which the foundations had to be laid down not only in theory but also first of all in shaping the social realities. This could not have taken place in such depth without, for example, the socialist reorganization of agriculture or at such a low level of development of the productive forces that intellectual work is built less obviously into satisfying the socialist needs.

These and similar changes of tremendous power become completely incomprehensible when compared with some kind of abstract goals of socialism which leaves the given historical facts out of consideration. It appears increasingly probable that even though socialism can everywhere relatively quickly implement the expropriation of the expropriators and the revolutionary changes in the distribution of material goods, the societies which have taken these steps are far from having the same chance of developing the productive possibilities concealed within them in the same amount of time, with the same efforts, and with the same number of errors. It is sufficient to take one look at the world to convince ourselves: even the thorough transformation of power relationships does not invalidate history, or the given level of material and cultural foundations developed in the various areas, or the traditional customs and mentalities. We will surmise that just as there is not and there cannot be one single model of capitalism, it would be merely illusory to assume one model of socialism. And, just so there will be no misunderstanding, what is involved here is not only that the human conscious does not have the same image of reality but also something fundamentally different, namely, that these images in the conscious reflect the multifaceted reality of socialism, which is not an aberration but the order of history.

It is an entirely different question that no noteworthy social force--and especially not socialism--can do without the ideologically verifiable ideals defined by the given age and the given opportunities. But these have proven authentic only if they have taken into far-reaching consideration the concrete situations, if they did not stray from those real interests which they were supposed to express intellectually and help come to life. This is how this was in the past, and this is how it is also today.

Among other things, the very thing that differentiates utopias from the usable, itemized goals that reveal ideals and timeless values is that while the former in a deductive manner want to deduce the future picture of reality which is thought to be good for the public from the speculative intellect, the latter take the optimum possibilities of the directions of society's movement from the historical viewpoint of class and give them an intellectual expression. It is not difficult to see that the utopias can create more monolithic and more closed long-range goal images because they do not allow themselves to be confused by the always contradictory nature of the realistic processes. But it does not follow from this at all that they are more durably viable, while the systems and groups of ideas growing out of the real motions and conditions, even though they may be "exaggerated" in some details and at times do not fit each other perfectly, may mobilize great energies and may condition society's activities for a relatively long time.

Those who think that the development of socialism from utopia to science was a single act in the life of humanity are making a mistake. Even if the circumstances are different, we are seeing that this torturous path is being repeated not only in areas we used to refer to as the Third World but also in Europe. But this cannot serve as a dispensation for those who doubt the right of true ideals to life only because those perhaps have not yet gained adequate forms of expression in reality. We could see that it led to serious ideological distortions when the Marxist-Leninist ideology was used to justify the daily political practice. If every political decision and act are expected to satisfy perfectly the ideologically otherwise valid theses, it will result in a situation not at all better than this. The ideology may legitimize only long-range goals and large and comprehensive processes and may make them into theses, while practice is the world of politics. The two--ideology and practice--can exert the appropriate mutual effect on each other if the differences can be seen well, if the borders do not become blurred and if the harmony between theory and practice is not imagined as some kind of inherently assured, perfect harmony. The theory can grow by means of generalization of the experience accumulated by politics, and ideology may over the long run play a regulating role in shaping politics.

This trait of the Marxist-Leninist view of society, and the application of the conclusions that can be drawn from this, means nothing less than that unity between theory and practice can come to exist only through contradictions, always by means of newer efforts, during the course of conscious processes based on the laws of dialectics. This process of differentiation exerts a productive influence on the development of the social sciences as well as of politics, but at the same time it has also burdened the people by depriving them of a false though reassuring consistency and by reinforcing the internal, psychic defenses against this inconsistency. The rapid and in many respects upsetting changes have also toppled such pillars earlier considered to be firm, which make it easier to avoid the great socio-political turmoils but sentence the individual to endure the temporary and in turn always recurring contradictions. Many people react to this by seeking subjective consistencies which serve as "shelters" against the showering contradictions of reality.

The "shelter syndrome" is understandable, but for society as a whole it is a cause for concern. It indicates that the spectacular relegation of the success of political dogmatism into the background could not completely transform the conservative and neodogmatic characteristics and could not in all cases relegate them into the past.

There are those among the older generation who think back with a certain reminiscence to that period of their own past when everything seemed so obvious, and they would also like to ask this of the present--while keeping the other aspects of socialist growth. But such nostalgia lives not only in people who carry the personal memories of times past in themselves. A kind of longing for "purer" conditions, where--in the words of Jozsef Lengyel--the "on the one hand" does not spill over into the "on the other hand," can be found also among young people. Attention must be paid to all these symptoms because with the demand to rape the realities, the ideals may also become victims.

Open and determined action against those who historically reject socialism or who expect the "renewal" of socialism from social unrest or from "surpassing" the consolidation is at times still slowed by the fact that those whose lives have been the most deeply, the most closely intertwined with socialism are the very people who would most like to rid themselves of the suspicion of dogmatism. But we must get passed this point, too, sooner or later! After all, not all rejections of demands for change can be blamed on the formation of conservative desires within socialism because not every idea that parades as a reform is one.

The intellectual resistance shown against the expropriation efforts of the broad-based economic and social reform initiated and directed by the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] is unavoidable. It does not hurt to call the attention of those who suffer chronic historical amnesia to the fact that the reform was not born outside the party and cannot continue without the party. That is, efforts at the latter would no longer be reform but attempts aimed at eliminating the system's foundations. Thus allowing the reform to be expropriated would also mean giving up the reform and returning to that long-past condition when not the alternatives within socialism but the socialist system itself was the focal point of debates, together with all the serious practical consequences of this.

It is obvious that such a "game" must not be played with a people. But socialism must not renounce its readiness for change even if certain entities ready for change would renounce socialism. Behold the old problem under new circumstances: how can we, as sensibly as possible and without unnecessary retreats and triumphs, stand our ground in this two-front struggle meted out to us by history?

Socialism is being built among successes and difficulties, at times burdened with torturous struggles and not at all "implanted on history's assembly line." This is what makes it a realistic and at the same time a grandiose undertaking.

8584

CSO: 2500/173

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Lublin Province Plenum on Plenary Meeting

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 10 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (Kuz): "From Meetings of the PZPR Provincial Committee Executive Board in Lublin: Preparation for the Plenum of the PZPR Provincial Committee and Evaluation of Factory Newspapers and Lecturing and Informational Activities"]

[Text] (from our own correspondent) At yesterday's meeting of the PZPR Provincial Committee Executive Board in Lublin, preparation for the plenary session of the Provincial Committee was discussed; the plenum will be concerned with tasks of party members in the fight for public justice, maintenance of law and order, discipline and public security. A preliminary evaluation was made of a report on the situation in this area in Lublin Province, and it was decided that the session of the PZPR Provincial Committee will take place on 17 March 1983.

As another item on its agenda, the Executive Board evaluated the information and lecturing activities conducted by the Provincial Ideological Indoctrination Center and party agencies in 1982. It was noted that, despite the difficult sociopolitical situation, the PZPR lecturers performed their tasks in dissemination of knowledge on the current sociopolitical situation and activities of the party extremely well, and made a large contribution to enlivening the ideological life in basic party organizations at higher level agencies. For this work, party lecturers and propagandists deserve praise and recognition, underscored the first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, Professor Wieslaw Skrzydlo. He also expressed confidence that the cadre of party lecturers and propagandists of sociopolitical knowledge will work in the current year with an even greater involvement and dedication.

The propaganda sector of the Provincial Committee and local agencies should provide the lecturers with extensive assistance, supplying them primarily with current information on key political and socioeconomic problems. The

Executive Board also adopted recommendations concerning enrichment of the subject lists of lecturers.

Participants also evaluated the situation in editorial boards of factory newspapers. Speakers on the subject included a representative of the PZPR Central Committee, Press, Radio and Television Department, Jan Zabicki, Director of Lublin Press Publishing, Tadeusz Fita, and Chief Editors of GLOS BUDOWLANYCH, GLOS FSC, GLOS SWIDNIKA, ZYCIE FLT [roller bearing factory] and NASZY SPRAWY (Pulawy factory newspaper). Factory newspapers were said to happen gradually, exercising influence and attaining popularity among workers at their enterprises, as well as residents of neighboring workers' settlements.

In order to further enlarge their readership, these newspapers, in addition to stronger cooperation with party organizations, should be primarily concerned with developing influence with the new structures evolving or reviving in their home enterprises, such as trade unions and Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] units, as well as to spread subscriptions amongst the younger generation of workers.

"In spite of all kinds of difficulties and problems, especially with printing base," said Wieslaw Skrzydlo, "factory newspapers are playing an increasing role in the political and economic education of workers. Editors of these newspapers deserve thanks and recognition for their efforts in this area. The provincial committee propaganda and information department should be sure to regularly supply them with current political and ideological information."

At yesterday's session, the Executive Board in Lublin also heard information on activity of public cultural associations. The first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, in summing up the discussions on this item of the agenda, said many warm and emotional words about the dedicated work of these associations, underlined the great passion and unselfish involvement of their activists--who deserve due credit and recognition. Among other things, this should include broad promotion of these associations in the Lublin press.

As to the last item on the agenda of this unusually active meeting, members of the Executive Board defined their position as to the implementation of the requirements to provincial administration expressed in the fourth quarter of 1982 by party organizations and agencies.

Activities in this area by provincial administration were reported by Lublin deputy province chief, Andrzej Springer.

It was mentioned in particular that the provincial committee's political organizational department, jointly with special problem commissions, monitor the implementation of recommendations in basic organizations.

Implementation of requirements of party members will be the subject of discussions in meetings with administrative and economic agencies of the province.

#### Lublin Plenum on Law and Justice

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 16 Mar 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by J. Kuznicki: "Plenum of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Lublin Tomorrow: Law and Justice Must Be the Same for All"]

[Text] (from our own correspondent) On Thursday, 17 March, the PZPR Provincial Committee in Lublin will meet in its plenary session (the meeting starts at 10:00 p.m. in the conference hall of the Provincial Committee, Aleje Racławickie 1). The subject of the discussion will be party tasks in the struggle for observance of principles of social justice and strengthening of rule of law and improvement of security and public order.

It is a common conviction that these problems are extremely important today for the Polish United Workers Party. This is so because social justice and rule of law, which is inseparably linked with it, belong to the basic principles of the Polish People's Republic as a socialist state.

The subject of implementation of the principles of social justice and the strengthening of the rule of law were discussed yesterday with us by members of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Lublin, which tomorrow will take an official stand on these issues in a resolution that will become binding for all members of the party in the province.

(Wojciech Golacik, fitter from the Swidnik railroad station): Strengthening the principles of justice and observance of norms of public life is an extremely broad subject. We workers believe that it was with the utmost clarity presented by secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, General Wojciech Jaruzelski in his speeches at provincial party conferences in Katowice and Warsaw.

We are all aware of how much evil and injustice is still there in our country, as well as selfishness, calbusness and plain meanness.

Everyone who lives by honest work is for a resolute fight against these phenomena. I think that the biggest snag is that when calling for this struggle we invariably look up at somebody else, mainly at those "on top" --central and provincial authorities.

Personally, I believe that this way we'll never achieve much. Fraud and profiteering, of which we often hear talk the workers coming to work in Swidnik from small parishes and townships, will not be exterminated for us either by Comrade Albin Sinak or any other member of the PZPR Central

Committee Political Bureau.

Success in the fight against evil will only become possible after decisions of central or provincial committees and activities of agencies responsible for this struggle will meet with our support.

I believe that it is a moral obligation of each citizen, and not only party members--although, according to the PZPR statutes, this is a party member's duty above all--to be active in the struggle with instances of injustice and social abnormalities.

Evil always comes to life in an atmosphere where law and standards of public life are slighted. We must all work together to develop an environment of condemnation, opposition and resentment for these phenomena.

(Adam Kudlicki, lieutenant colonel of the Polish People's Army): As an officer of the Polish Army, I understand well the importance of discipline and respect for the norms of public life. I believe that firm observance of these principles is a premise to implementation of the economic reform and other tasks aimed at overcoming the current difficulties of our life. In my professional work and in public work, in particular as a lecturer of the PZPR Provincial Committee, I try to create an atmosphere of condemnation of all kinds of deviations from these norms. I believe that this must be task number one for all honest citizens. These should not be just words, of which we have had plenty. Nor is it any kind of new program, for again there has never been a shortage of those. I am talking about deeds, specific actions, the practical fight against instances of evil.

We must first of all call on each person to do diligent work, be reliable in his professional and public work and at home. There should be a resolute and consistent struggle against instances of disrespect and improper conduct of those in positions of authority, and popularization of those working with dedication for the common good.

As someone often dealing with young people, I want to call attention to the fact that basically we all are educators. In school, for instance, not only the class advisor, but--according to the title--teacher of technical education or musical education, as well as of physics and mathematics.

I am getting the impression that in our life we primarily talk about material aspects--anti-inflation programs, introduction of economic reform--but we speak too little about forming people's attitudes and personalities. Almost everywhere the importance of cultural upbringing and education as a citizen is underestimated. I believe that now it is extremely important for us to make accountable not only people responsible for the economy but those responsible for "investment in man."

(Roman Borzecki, railroad engineer, Lublin): I will talk about sentiment among railroad men. Unfortunately, these are not the best feelings in the world, although one could hardly find people enjoying the crisis. We

railroad workers have no financial shelters and we believe that first of all we need decisions that would "pull the money out of the pockets" of those who are in fact having it good. Not a day passes without people asking me all kinds of questions on the subject. For instance, why is payment for state and cooperative garages so low? Is it just because they are mostly used by those holding official posts?

Why agency apartments are mainly received by people on good salaries, while workers--although they are the group most badly needed for employment openings--have to pay the continually growing rents in housing cooperatives?

Why a car owner that drives a maximum of 200 to 500 km monthly has to pay the same road tax as those whose car meters show 30,000 km every month.

I would like to receive answers to questions of this kind at the plenary session of the Provincial Committee.

(Antoni Janoszczyk, mayor and parish head, Opole Lubelskie): As a member of the administration, I believe that members of this professional group, and especially members of the PZPR and other parties, have a special mission to perform. Simply, they must work so as to prove to the public that the administration is fair and law-abiding. This is indispensable for restoring the real authority of the state and economic administration and government in general.

We lay special emphasis on proper attitude toward petitioners in the office on a friendly and patient attitude in settling their cases and problems. We think that every citizen must be received in the office with respect and understanding. For this reason, for instance, one should never tell him right away that the problem cannot be settled, but one must give him a detailed explanation for the reasons for each decision.

I also think that the administration has much to do in reinforcing discipline and respect for norms of public life and in forming the citizens' attitudes.

I would like to stress that residents of our district continue the good traditions of volunteer work. For instance, the village of Stanislawow, consisting of 20 households, has recently collected 500,000 zlotys for construction of water supply line. As a result, the construction was placed on plan together with the building of water supplies in Puszno. I can add that Puszno residents collected 1,100,000 zlotys for this purpose, and in Niezdow over a million.

Residents of other villages, such as Kluczkowicy, also participate in the construction of a water supply network by contributing funds as well as volunteer work. We are convinced that assistance to farmers in settling these problems will best promote restoration of trust in the administration, will show that we are doing something real,



and that our activity is bringing useful results, tangible to them.

(Jan Chmiel, deputy chairman of the PZPR Provincial Committee's Agricultural Commission): In my opinion, we should begin the struggle with disregard for social norms from ourselves, from analyzing our own attitudes in situations in the immediate environment--at the enterprise, at home, in the neighborhood or the organization where we are active. I am fully aware of the need for resolute opposition to evil, but, in doing that, we must, at the same time, make sure that we have a clear conscience, so that no one could reproach us that we can only find fault with others. And also this: everybody knows that erosion of public discipline is affected by the economic crisis. It is thus the duty of every good Polish citizen to work diligently and act responsibly in fulfilling our other obligations. This concerns particularly those working in production, but not only them. As a worker with water management associations, I am struck outright by the devastation of meliorative structures. In many cases, this verges on vandalism. The worst thing is, however, that those responsible do not meet with public condemnation, even though they destroy common property, for which we all must have to pay. I think, therefore, that respect for the law and norms of social life cannot be ensured by activities of government agencies concerned with law enforcement. We need a preventive activity in the broad sense of the word and long-term educational work--dissemination of knowledge of the law and of culture, of community life.

Anyway, all recidivistic phenomena should be eradicated immediately. In all these activities, public support is indispensable.

#### Lomza Province Executive Meeting

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 11 Mar 83 p 2

[Article by (ZP): "A Meeting of the PZPR Provincial Committee Executive Board and the ZSL Presidium in Lomza"]

[Text] In a joint session of the PZPR Provincial Committee Executive Board and the ZSL Provincial Presidium, the date was determined for the plenary session of both agencies. It will take place on 31 March 1983. Preparations for the event have been under way for a few weeks. In basic organizations, meetings of the aktiv are taking place at which participants discuss tasks determined by resolutions of the joint plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL National Committee. By mid-March, meetings of basic party organizations and ZSL units should be completed. Based on the current course of discussions, one can say that the lines of agricultural development determined by resolution of the 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and ZSL National Committee are accepted in Lomza, although some doubts have surfaced as to whether these decisions will be fulfilled, whether the party and the government will not go back on their word.

The necessity of an earliest introduction of contract principles, publishing a draft of policies for evaluation of basic tax and verification of norms of milk classification, as well as the need for increasing output of agricultural machines and implements, both tractor and horse-driven, was emphasized in the discussions.

In preparing for the joint provincial plenum, members of the PZPR and ZSL active in villages, agricultural and food enterprises, farmers' circles, parish cooperatives and cooperative banks are the active elements. They must come to the plenum not only with requirements, but with actual production results, with examples of what can be done right now to increase the food production and make work and life in the countryside easier.

The Executive Board was then given information on the course of creation of new trade unions. In Lomza Province, the principle formulated in the famous speech of Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski has been practiced--the requirements that trade unions should be such as workers want them to be and that would serve workers' interests. By 1 March 1983, despite opposition by political opponents, 166 initiating groups have emerged, including 76 founding committees. Already over 8,000 people have joined the unions. The provincial court in Lomza has registered 52 unions. Elections have been conducted in 14 organizations. Trade unions have been registered, in particular at larger enterprises in the area--Lomza Narew Cotton Industry Works and at Zombrow Cotton Industry Works. An initiator group is active preparing the necessary papers for registration. The trade union movement is developing at the fastest pace among teachers.

#### Lodz Province on Local Party Activities

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 11 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by POG: "Some Activities of the PZPR Lodz Committee Executive Board: Evaluation of the Activity of Local Party Organizations. Work of State Control Agencies in Price Adjustment and Income Control. Information on Current Tasks of Trade"]

[Text] In Lodz Province, there are currently 127 local party organizations numbering 8,263 members. This is an important political force, especially since these organizations are active in residential areas, in units of citizens' self-government. This brings them into immediate contact with broad community circles. This issue was discussed, among other things, at yesterday's session of the PZPR Lodz Committee Executive Board chaired by member of the Central Committee Political Bureau, first secretary of the PZPR Lodz Committee, Tadeusz Czechowicz.

Probably the most important statement made during discussions at the session of the PZPR Lodz Committee Executive Board on current activities of

local party organizations was the conclusion contained in suggestions prepared by the Political-Organization Department of the PZPR Lodz Committee, which underscored the duty of each member to conduct political work in the place of his residence. This issue was in the focus of discussions, where the following speakers took the floor: J. Chalubinski, S. Ziarkowski, S. Tkaczuk, K. Kwiatkowski, M. Anysz, M. Szczesniak, M. Wawrzynska, L. Wlodkowski, B. Rogowski, B. Lukaszewski, A. Junka and J. Nastalczyk.

During the course of this exchange of views, speakers stressed the importance of enlarging scope of activities of members of local party groups, concentration of their attention on crucial problems of particular communities and neighborhoods. Much was also said about the need for providing more assistance to party activists in local organizations of the PZPR. It also became clear that enterprises can make a large contribution to this, supporting local party organizations and--to the extent of their capabilities--providing all kinds of assistance, helping with their political work.

Summing up this part of the session of the Executive Board, the first secretary of the Lodz Committee, Tadeusz Czechowicz, noted the importance of developing such forms of work of local party organizations that would be effective and would increase the political influence of the party in communities where these organizations are active.

Another item on the agenda gave rise to a lively and critical discussion by members of the Executive Board. It concerned the state control of prices and incomes, particularly such societally disconcerting matters as price gouging and excessive enrichment at the expense of working people. The matter was discussed by the following speakers: S. Laskowski, B. Moczowski, P. Dyktynski, A. Gawrysiak, J. Polak, J. Nastalczyk, T. Kaminski, T. Guminska and J. Pietrzyk. They spoke with great concern and scathing criticism about the--unfortunately still existing--legal loopholes and mechanisms enabling price gouging and enrichment of individuals who, frequently through fraudulent operations, attain personal gain. The Executive Board indicated the need for building up state mechanisms for fiscal control and upgrading it so as to enable these agencies, acting on a large scale, to at least limit this socially abnormal phenomenon.

The Executive Board also heard a report on the current tasks and situation in trade enterprises in the Lodz Province. The report was presented by J. Mysliwy, director of the Lodz City Commerce Department. Among the speakers, H. Jodelis, M. Szczesniak and P. Dyktynski raised, in particular, questions of supply to province's population, of consumer goods such as clothing, footwear and durable goods.

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KRAKOW PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Reports Conference at Nowa Huta

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 15-16 Jan 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Tomasz Ordyk]

[Text] Yesterday, the District Reports Conference of the PZPS was held at Nowa Huta. This conference marked the conclusion of the reports campaign in this working-class district of Krakow. Among the participants in the meeting were: the chairman of the Central Review Committee of the PZPR, Kazimierz Morawski; Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski; the commander-in-chief of the MO [Civic Militia], Brig Gen Jozef Gajewicz; the mayor of Krakow, Tadasz Salwa; a representative of the Committee of National Defense, Brig Gen Leon Sulima; the chairman of the Executive Board of the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth], Jerzy Jaskiernia; and two Central Committee members, Kazimierz Miniur and Stanislaw Knap.

The maxim in the title of the introductory speech given by the first secretary of the District Committee of the PZPR, Zdizislaw Kosinski, conveys the spirit of yesterday's meeting, which reviewed an extremely difficult period in the life of the Nowa Huta Party organization. During the past year and a half, Nowa Huta was the scene of a fierce political struggle. After the proclamation of martial law this struggle was also conducted in the streets, and its tragic results are generally known. The pressure of these events made it difficult for the party to carry out its normal activities and tested the mettle of many of its members. Some of them have left the party. Compared with May 1981, the PZPR district organization has lost over 15,000 members --a 16 percent decline. Despite this difficult situation, the Nowa Huta Party organization can credit itself with taking the first steps to restore its badly-damaged authority. The increasing normalization makes it necessary to confront the issues and problems that are the vital concern of the district's work force and residents.

The discussion, in which more than a dozen speakers took part, dealt with a wide range of problems in four main subject areas. The first subject area was the question of how the party can regain the confidence and support of society in order to implement the program set forth at the Ninth Congress. The party, as the advocate for the public interest, must undertake an effective

dialogue with the reviving trade-union and self-management movement, and judiciously use the experience of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth so that PRON will not become a travesty of democracy. Have we availed ourselves yet of all the opportunities to establish a dialogue? The speakers who addressed themselves to this topic pointed out the mistakes made at the very outset. Here and there one can observe a return to the old methods of exercising authority, such as attempts to "communicate" with unions and self-management bodies by means of fiats or commands. Similarly, the old, bad patterns persist in relations between the authorities and the average citizen. This part of the discussion touched upon the problems of young people, which are particularly severe right here in Nowa Huta. Winning over the younger generation to the party's program is a difficult task requiring great tact and delicacy. Victory in this battle--as one of the participants in the conference asserted--will be decided not by high-sounding rhetoric but by individual moral commitment.

The second broad theme of the discussion concerned issues connected with economic reform. Previous undertakings in this area have led many people to believe that the present marked decline in the standard of living is the social cost of reform itself, not of the crisis. This belief is false, but in tracing the course of the reform one can find grounds for such reasoning. Specific examples were cited: the fact that some economic administrators have reverted to the old pattern of disregarding the opinion and votes of the work force, and certain economic relations are contrary to the spirit of reform, as in the case of a salary increase totally unwarranted by an increase in production, not to mention greater efficiency. In certain departments one can observe dilatoriness in renewing or creating the self-management system. This dilatoriness is perceived by the rank-and-file workers as fear of the work force's participation in running the plant.

The third major theme of the discussion concerned party activities. A lack of information within the party was mentioned. Complete, reliable information should be the source of arguments in everyday operations, but what reaches the party's rank and file differs little from what is provided by the DTV [TV Journal] service. Participants also asked about the fate of the identical declaration whose draft, published last spring, had stirred up so much controversy.

In the discussion, there could be no lack of issues connected with the affairs of the district. The report of the district party chief, Zdzislaw Zareba, disclosed that last year's plans and intentions had not been completely realized. For example, 70 percent of the housing construction plan has been implemented. The educational system and the public health service are in a difficult situation. In regard to the latter, a very specific proposal was made by Jadwiga Bosowska-Dipel, the delegate representing the public health service. Referring to the terrible conditions in the maternity ward at Zermomski Hospital, she suggested that part of the new outpatient clinic in Plastow be converted immediately into a branch of the maternity ward. This proposal was later added to the resolution adopted by the conference.

The conference concluded with a speech by the deputy premier, Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

After his introductory remarks praising the handling of the conference, comrade Rakowski stated that the nucleus of the Nowa Huta party organization had survived the difficult period largely intact, which meant that the active membership had stood a severe test. The deputy premier then described the current situation in the country. The increase in prices --one of the important elements in the first stage of economic reform--had been implemented, to be sure, under the aegis of martial law, but the working class had shown great patience. It is therefore understandable that people are waiting for positive results from the reforms.

Unfortunately, our situation is not conducive to rapid progress. The lack of reserves, western economic sanctions, and the dependence of 60 percent of the processing industry on imports requiring hard currency have created unfavorable conditions for the thoroughgoing implementation of the principles of reform. In addition to this, there are employment problems that have arisen from the law on earlier retirement, which comrade Rakowski admitted was a serious mistake. Nonetheless, the question of reform is of fundamental importance to the government, since attitudes to the changes in the management of the economy serve as a criterion of the government's credibility. Reforms cannot be implemented without consulting the workers. Disregard of the principle of consultation with self-management bodies and trade unions leads nowhere, and we cannot afford another crisis.

In speaking of the social climate, comrade Rakowski pointed out that the slow stabilization had reduced the general turmoil. There is still a tremendous amount of distrust, however, and keeping in mind the existence of the underground, everything possible should be done to win over the "silent majority", but only with facts. Comrade Rakowski also answered a number of specific questions that came up during the discussion.

At its conclusion, the conference adopted a 15-point resolution setting forth the current program of the Nowa Huta party organization.

During yesterday's conference, a number of honored activists were given state awards. Marin Kajda received the Officer's Cross of the Order of Poland's Rebirth. Jan Rim, Stanislaw Szymanski, Franciszek Trzoniec and Emil Wojaczek received Knight's Crosses. Medals commemorating the centenary of the workers' movement were also awarded.

#### Reports Conference at Lenin Steel Works

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 17 Jan 83, pp 1,2

[Article by Janusz Handerek]

[Text] On Saturday, the PZPR Factory Committee at the Lenin Steel Works held a reports conference. Among the participants in the conference were two members of the PZPR CC Politburo, Kacimierz Barcikowski and Hieronim Kubiak; the first secretary of the Krakow Committee of the PZPR, Jozef Gajewicz; the major of Krakow, Tadeusz Salwa; the deputy minister of metallurgy and the machine tool industry, Jerzy Wozniak; the representative of the Committee for

National Defense, Leon Sulima, and the commander of the provincial MO in Krakow, Adam Trzybinski. The delegates, elected twenty months ago for the Fifteenth Reports-Electoral Conference, assembled now at midterm in the Steel Works auditorium to consider the achievements and setbacks of their parent party organization.

The following remarks are taken from a speech made on Saturday by Kazimierz Miniur, first secretary of the PZPR Factory Committee at the HiL [Lenin Steel Works]: "...When, during the discussion at the conference held more than a year and half ago, we criticized past events and formulated proposals for a plan of operation, many problems seemed easier to resolve. It seemed that what was happening in the country was nothing but a great protest against the distortions of the previous decade, and that we had only to democratize intraparty life, activate the mechanisms of economic reform and elect new people to executive positions, and the situation would begin returning to normal. Life, however, brutally corrected this way of thinking. The very first weeks after the conference showed that we were far from reaching an agreement, and that instead of joining forces for the sake of progress we would have to carry on a fierce struggle against the political adversary, a struggle for national survival and the existence of the socialist state. Poland and its heart--the industrial workplaces--became the arena of struggle between imperialist elements and socialism. In the name of Poland--against the vital interests of its people."

In the turbulent months after August 1980, attempts were made above all to break up and weaken the party. At the Lenin Steel Works many members left the ranks of the PZPR. But the most valuable ones remained--those who are ready to share the fate of the party in its most difficult moments. Today the HiL organization has 5,575 members, and it is still one of the largest in the country. It is systematically rebuilding its authority and systematically gaining more and more recognition among the work force. "We are not operating among adversaries and enemies," stated Mieczyslaw Lagosz, "but among intelligent workers."

The significance of the Lenin Steel Works in the economic life of the country is very great. The output achieved at Nowa Huta has a considerable effect on the output of many other plants. Fortunately, the past year at the HiL can be considered a successful one. The executive manager of the Steel Works, Eugeniusz Pustowka, could therefore report that the plan had been fulfilled, and that it had even been exceeded in some areas. Thus, 37,000 more tons of steel was produced, 60,000 more tons of finished laminated products, 7,000 more tons of galvanized sheet metal, 10,000 more tons of tin-plated sheet metal, and 7,000 more tons of rolled flexible metal. Exports to both socialist and capitalist countries likewise reached a high level.

Production problems, and problems connected with the implementation of economic reform, were the principal topic of a long discussion in which nearly thirty speakers took part. It was said that it would be difficult to continue achieving higher outputs if the Lenin Steel Works' basic problem--the shortage of manpower--is not resolved. According to estimates, there is presently a

shortage of about 4,000 workers that must be met as quickly as possible. The Lenin Steel Works can and should produce more. Preferential wage scales for steelworkers are necessary, however, and the housing problem has to be resolved.

In the last few months, the HiL management has received numerous requests concerning both trivial matters and issues of crucial importance to the entire work force of the plant. At present, almost 90 percent of the requests have been met. This has considerably improved workers' morale. After 13 December --it was stated in the discussion--their morale was greatly improved by the visits of representatives of the central government, including Kazimierz Barcikowski, who has been connected with the Nowa Huta plant for years, and also by the visits of representatives of the provincial government. Political and economic normalization was proceeding systematically.

An event of great significance for the Lenin Steel Works was the unannounced visit of Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski to the plant. The first secretary's tour of the HiL was no mere formality, but an occasion for many direct, spontaneous conversations with the steelworkers. This visit quickly resolved a number of crucial problems that had heretofore seemed difficult to resolve. Gen Jaruzelski not only won further appreciation among the workforce, but lent new meaning to the government's dialogue with society.

This visit was the subject of conversation at the HiL for many weeks. It was also mentioned during Saturday's conference, whose participants thanked the first secretary of the CC PZPR once more for visiting the Lenin Steel Works and asked him to make this type of visit again.

During conferences held in past years, the PZPR Factory Committee of the Lenin Steel Works frequently called attention to food shortages in communal dining rooms and workers' cafeterias and demanded radical improvement. On Saturday such criticism was absent. On the contrary, it was asserted that today the steel worker no longer has any difficulty in getting a basic meal during his hard shift. While some will say this is a small accomplishment, it is from such little successes that big successes are made. The mayor of Krakow, Tadeusz Salwa, personally assured the representatives of the HiL work force that the municipal authorities would provide the plant with all possible assistance, particularly sites for single-family dwellings and garden plots.

Social and production problems, however, were not the only topics of the discussion. The participants often spoke of party matters, of the party's tasks in the present and the future. The resolutions of the Ninth Congress should be systematically implemented, because, it was said, the credibility of the PZPR is connected in large measure with the implementation of generally accepted congressional decisions. The party's style of work with the trade unions will also be of major significance. There can be no return to the period before August 1980; today unions are self-governing and independent. And that is what they should always be.

The final speaker in the discussion was Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC PZPR. According to comrade Barcikowski, the



focus has now shifted from the political crisis to the economic crisis. Further political stabilization depends to a considerable degree on economic stabilization. We must overcome the economic crisis, and we shall do this the more quickly, the more quickly certain social circles change their wait-and-see attitude to an active one. Much depends as well on the work force of the Lenin Steel Works, which is an important factor in the national economy. Of particular importance today are commitment, eagerness to work, and proper performance of duties. This is required by Poland's national interest.

The party, comrade Barcikowski continued, assumed an enormous responsibility by proclaiming martial law. Today it can be said that the party succeeded in accomplishing the difficult task of protecting the country from the danger of civil war. The party is gradually recovering, and although it is numerically weaker than before August 1980, it is now more cohesive and more experienced in the struggle against the political adversary. This party unity must be safeguarded, and all decentralist tendencies must be firmly rebuffed.

The party has the important task of regaining its credibility. This goal will be achieved if we succeed in proving to society that we are determined to carry out political renewal and effectively implement economic reform. The party's new outlook is exemplified by personnel changes made on a scale unprecedented in Poland. Executive posts have been filled by young people who are talented, educated, and prepared for the tasks awaiting them. This new cadre is in large measure the guarantor of the continuation of the renewal process.

The party must devote more attention to ideological work and to the concerns of the workers. "The party extends a hand to everyone," said comrade Barcikowski at the conclusion of his speech, "who has the interest of his native land, Poland, at heart. Only the implacable enemy of socialism cannot hope for understanding and tolerance."

Kazimierz Miniur, thanking Kazimierz Barcikowski for attending the conference and for his many years' interest in the problems of the plant and its work-force, asked him on behalf of the steelworkers to continue his efforts in matters of vital concern to the HiL.

The conference unanimously adopted the resolution defining the immediate tasks of the PZPR Factory Committee at the Lenin Steel Works. The "Internationale" was sung at the conclusion of the conference.

#### Krakow-Center Reports Conference

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 22-23 Jan 83 pp 1,2

[Interview with Ryszard Borowski, first secretary of the PZPR Works Committee at the Municipal Transport Enterprise in Krakow, by Jacek Balcewics; date and place not specified]

[Text] By the time that this article reaches the reader, the final conference to be held in Krakow--the reports conference of the center-city party

organization--will have begun meeting. Just before it commences, we are speaking with Ryszard Borowski, first secretary of the PZPR Works Committee at the Municipal Transport Enterprise. We find ourselves at midterm; thus the topic of the conversation and the questions suggest themselves.

[Question] Which of the resolutions of the district echelon's executive leadership have been implemented, and which have not? How do you assess the recent turbulent and eventful period from your "midterm perspective?"

[Answer] I have a pretty good recollection of the atmosphere prevailing two years ago. I remember many comrades who seemed to run amok trying to grab as many functions and make as many proposals as possible--and only a handful of proposals remained for implementation. I like the clearcut position of the majority of the members on the District Committee's Executive Board, who decided to settle accounts with the pseudoactivists and party kibitzers...We must come out of the reports campaign as a cohesive and resolute party. We must be more resolute in action not only within the party itself but also in the workplace--just as resolute as our adversaries are. In this regard we must follow their example. We can no longer act with kid gloves, straddle the fence or be wishy-washy...We have lots of young people among our active membership--that's very good, because the party does need new blood--but many of them lack experience and are unable to handle party work. We've got to help and teach them and tell them what to do. I will therefore propose at the conference that each of the delegates be assigned to work with a party organization requiring assistance. This will also be a test for the delegates themselves. You know, we often meet with such examples: everyone wants to get out of the crisis, but the manager of one plant or another lowers the quota. We must rebuild authority, but with facts; we must--as active, committed members of the party--set a good example and be concerned about our own morale.

[Question] Let's proceed, after this introduction, to your own party organization the MPK [Municipal Transport Enterprise] and try to draw up a tally sheet here too. I suppose we'll both agree that communications are the nerves of a city.

[Answer] The most important thing is that we've gotten to know all the active members during this time; we know who is who, who can do what, and what we can expect and look for...our active members proved their mettle in the difficult situation in which all of us in the MPK found ourselves. Together with the management we have implemented 90 percent of all the strike demands, including the wage demands. And as far as social issues are concerned, we've gone even farther than the workers' demands of August and September 1980. For the first time in the existence of the MPK, we have more than 400 buses running, and we put the same number of vehicles on the city streets during both the morning and afternoon rush hours. In Warsaw, we got hold of "icaruses" for Krakow--that didn't come by itself, all the provinces were fighting for it...We've managed to reactivate all the suspended lines; only the "A express" is left, but it should be started up again in the next few days. And winter last year didn't take us by surprise. What's most important, people are complaining about us less and less.

[Question] Those are your successes, and now let's go on to a less pleasant topic. What have you failed to accomplish in spite of all your efforts?

[Answer] We must bring together our workforce, which is still very divided. We haven't been able yet to convince some of the supervisors and foremen that they're in complete charge of their assigned areas. Nor have we been able to make the active party members and inspectors more sensitive to injustices and the difficult situation of many people, that maybe it's necessary to appeal for help because the poor fellow is simply ashamed to ask for it himself... And there is one other thing, which may be the hardest to do quickly: changing interpersonal relationships so that people will not feel offended when you tell them the truth to their faces. I think it's better to be straightforward rather than sneaky and underhanded. We have to work on that.

[Question] Thank you for your statement.

#### Reports Conference at Krakow--Center City

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 24 Jan 83 pp 1,2

[Article by bp]

[Text] What has been the activity of the Krakow center-city party organization during the 21 months that have elapsed thus far in the present term? Do the results of its activity meet the needs and expectations of party members and nonparty citizens? What is the role of the organization in implementing the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the party? What will be the direction of its future activities?

These questions were the subject of the reports conference that was held last Saturday by the Krakow center-city party organization. Among the participants were Hieronim Kubiak, member of the Politburo of the CC PZPR; Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Central Review Committee; Jozef Galewski, member of the Central Committee of the PZPR and first secretary of the Krakow Committee of the PZPR; Leonard Zukiewicz, chairman of the Krakow Party Control Committee; and Tadeusz Salwa, mayor of Krakow.

The conference opened with a speech by Ryszard Borowski, first secretary of the District Committee of the PZPR, center-city Krakow. In his speech he said among other things: "We have concentrated our activity on renewing the party and returning it to its ideological sources, intraparty democracy, organizational and political cohesiveness, high standards for party membership, and credibility, in order to win public approval for our programmatic undertakings. Party structures have been set to rights, the party's active core has been rebuilt and strengthened, and the young people who were entrusted with responsible party functions in the last elections have gained experience. It was this active core of functionaries and the rank-and-file party members gathered around them who sustained the adversary's most vicious and treacherous blows, who withstood moral and mental pressure, and who severely restricted and, after 13 December 1981, almost completely eliminated the destructive actions in center-city workplaces."

Comrade Borowiecki pointed out that not all the party's intentions had been completely realized, nor had all the necessary steps been taken. Therefore it is essential to continue improving the style, forms and methods of party work.

"Execution of tasks in the situation in which the country and the party presently find themselves," said comrade Borowiecki, "should be the main criterion for assessing the activists and all members of the center-city party organization. It has shrunk from a total of 27,164 members and candidates to 22,350. The greatest numerical loss has been noted in academic circles, transportation, social services, the cooperative movement, industry, construction trades, and designing bureaus. The party should expand its membership by attracting the most valuable people, those who are recognized and respected in their profession."

The head of the center-city districts, Mieczyslaw Ciolczyk, presented the most important needs, accomplishments and plans of the district authorities.

The discussion centered on several key topics: strengthening of the party's ideological and political cohesiveness; establishment of the party's credibility in society; activities directed toward social and political stabilization as a basic condition for overcoming the socioeconomic crisis; and creation of conditions for national understanding and for winning the support of society for implementation of the program of socialist renewal initiated by the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the party.

The last reports-electoral conference was evaluated in retrospect. A particularly critical view was expressed by Jan Wsolek (of the Censorship Office for the Press, Publications and Entertainments), who made constructive proposals concerning the need for party activists and members to adhere unwaveringly to party principles. The matter of the trials of individuals responsible for plunging the country into a crisis was brought up again for discussion. Roman Sawrej (of the power plant) spoke on this subject, saying that the conclusion of these trials would help create more confidence in the authorities and would spur social activity. A similar opinion was voiced by Zdzislaw Kalwa (of the MPK) [Municipal Transport Enterprise]. The need for complete sincerity in evaluation and in reports to the authorities was mentioned by Konstanty Waszkiewicz (of the TOP no. 8), who emphasized the significance of critical evaluations for correcting mistakes, which can, of course, occur in any activity. Ryszard Borowski (of the MPK) called attention to the need for constant enhancement of the standing and authority of party organizations. He also stated that it was necessary to create conditions for the establishment of trade unions and for resistance to boycotts, attacks and pressures directed against the reviving trade union movement wherever such actions take place.

In speaking of economic issues, Ryszard Borowski referred to economic reform, which among workers is often associated solely with price increases. He proposed, among other things, that the increase in the cash flow be analyzed to determine where the flow is being directed and whether it is being used properly. For the truth is that many families find it difficult to get by from paycheck to paycheck.

Professor Zbigniew Martyniak (of the School of Economics) also discussed economic issues and economic reform. Henryk Janicki (of TOP no. 10) called attention to the fact that society expects the party to extricate the country from the crisis and to stimulate economic development. The effectiveness and results of these undertakings will determine the further growth of confidence in the party and the rebuilding of its credibility and authority.

The difficulties that youth organizations encounter in their work, and the vital needs of the younger generation, were discussed by Bogdan Dabrowski (chairman of the district ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth]). He also reported on the initiatives taken to meet these needs.

It is hard even to ennumerate all the opinions expressed during the many hours of discussion.

Jozef Gajewicz, the first secretary of the Krakow Committee of the PZPR, presented his views of the above problems in his speech. He shed light on many other issues as well. Emphasizing the substantial decrease in party membership, he spoke of the benefits that were accruing at the same time from the purge of party ranks and from the strengthening and activization of party organizations. In discussing economic issues, he said that the reforms being implemented now, in a time of great crisis, were the most extensive since the period of reforms in 1945. Responsibility for the correct implementation of reforms and for the elimination of any mistakes that may occur during this process rests with party members, in view of the functions they perform and the official duties with which they are entrusted. In touching upon the affairs of the district, he stated that despite the decline in party membership the center-city organization had a tremendous force at its disposal. Work must be done in such a manner that its effects will be evident. Comrade Gajewicz praised the activity of the party echelon and thanked it and the entire district organization.

Hieronim Kubiak emphasized in his speech that the reflections of the participants regarding the last report-electoral conference were a good point of departure for general reflections on the changes the party has undergone and on its current situation. Describing these changes and this situation, he declared that the party was making use of experiences and basing its activity more firmly on the general principles and concrete achievements of socialism. The party draws lessons from the historical processes of the development of Polish socialism. We are building socialism not in the abstract but in Poland, on the basis of the program of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. We have regained the initiative. Now we must convince society by our actions; every party member should be through his work and his position, an argument for the party's program and at the same time a guardian of this program. It is important that we be prepared to carry out this program.

We must rally society around the party's program. Therefore so much depends on party organizations and on each and every one of us. The workplace should monitor economic undertakings and economic reforms. At the same time, we must realize that we are implementing them in extremely difficult conditions of political struggle, under the pressure of foreign sanctions, after a period

of such high hopes in the progress of socialism. Through cooperation and concrete action we must overcome difficulties.

At the conclusion of the conference, the program for the second half of the term was adopted.

During the conference, a number of honored comrades received decorations. Kazimierz Nowak and Tadeusz Tobola were given Officer's Crosses of the Order of Poland's Rebirth.

Knight's Crosses of the Order of Poland's Rebirth were awarded to: Antoni Bigai, Stanislaw Kempa, Edward Matras, Piotr Mazgaj, Lucyna Michniuk, Stanislaw Nowak, Bronislaw Klatka, Jozef Podgorski, Maria Korbach, Stanislaw Skorzewski, Jerzy Stanek, Eugeniusz Giza, Czeslaw Putryka, and Jozef Szybula. Medals commemorating the centenary of the workers' movement in Poland were awarded to: Czeslaw Domagla, Jan Drewniak, Edward Fialek, Dawid Kon, Michal Kuncewicz, Karol Lyko, Wladyslaw Machejek, Wladyslaw Makowicz, Marian Nowak, Helena Pajak, Stanislaw Szymacha, Konstanty Waszkiewicz, Ludwik Wasocicz, and Jozef Wisniowski.

During the conference the MPK party organization, which is moving to the Podgorze District (in connection with its transfer to the new site of the enterprise), expressed its gratitude to the center-city party echelon and to Ryszard Borowiecki, first secretary of the District Committee of the PZPR, center-city Krakow. The center-city party organization similarly thanked the PZPR Works Committee and the entire MPK party organization for their collaboration.

#### Krakow Plenum Deliberations

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 26 Jan 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Stefan Cieply]

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[Text] At the 2-1/2 hour plenary session of the Krakow Committee of the PZPR held yesterday, the draft of the committee's report for the Krakow Party Reports Conference was discussed and approved. It was also decided that the conference would be held on Saturday, 12 February.

Franciszek Dabrowski, secretary of the Krakow Committee, presented to the committee members the introduction prepared by the Krakow Committee's organizational section under the leadership of secretary Jan Bronek. This introduction cited the main events that had taken place during the reports period, and assessed the activity and dynamism of the provincial party organization, particularly before 13 December 1981. Recalling the disorganization of production and the climate of intense political struggle prevailing at that time, comrade Dabrowski also recalled that the trade union movement "Solidarity" had rejected the many offers of cooperation and understanding made by the party both in workplaces and at the regional level. And inasmuch as it was the aim

of "Solidarity" to seize power and to change our system and our alliances, the logic of events dictated the finale that occurred on 13 December.

This date marks on the one hand the beginning of the organizational and ideological strengthening of the party, and on the other hand increasing attempts by the political opposition to organize public disturbances and demonstrations, which first took place in our city in the Rynek Glowny and later in the Nowa Huta sections. The peacekeeping forces had a particularly difficult role in quelling these disorders, during which, unfortunately, there were a number of tragic incidents.

The period after 13 December up to the suspension of martial law constituted the initial stage of the implementation of economic reform connected with reform of prices and wages, which affect social attitudes in various ways. For the party the most important task now is to shift to the political struggle by means of the instruments of socialist democracy, in which force of argument, agitation, example and creative inspiration on the part of party members must be the basic instrument for influencing public opinion.

These were the main theses of the introduction, after which there was a discussion on the over 100-page draft of the report of the Krakow Committee covering the period from 13 June 1981, when the previous reports-electoral conference took place, to February of this year. The draft drew some criticism in regard to content and style, e.g., the volume of the material, the repetitiveness in various parts, the lack of unified arrangement, etc. It was decided that in the next three days a suitable group would make the corrections proposed during the discussion.

The next speaker was the first secretary of the Krakow Committee of the PZPR, Jozef Gajewicz, who presented on behalf of the Executive Board this year's proposed subjects for the plenary sessions of the Krakow Committee. It was decided that the sessions would consider in turn the "Effect of science and technological progress on production increases", "Party work in the key industrial plants of Krakow", the "Tasks of party echelons in strengthening self-government and representative organizations", and lastly, at the end of the year, the "Tasks of Krakow's educational and academic community in preparing cadres for the national economy."

The first secretary of the Krakow Committee, Jozef Gajewicz, presented the proposals of the committee's executive board regarding changes in the leadership of the committee's departments. Thus, Antoni Mrocza was removed from his post as chief of the General Department of the Krakow Committee of the PZPR and appointed director of the Regional Center for Party Work in Proszowice. At the same time, Lucjan Piekarz, the previous manager of the first secretary's office, was elected chief of the Krakow Committee's General Department. Stanislaw Franczak, the former manager of the Krakow mayor's office, remained the manager of the first secretary's office.

As part of the certain structural changes in the Krakow Committee, the previous personnel sector has become the Personnel Department, headed by the former manager of the sector, Edward Kwiecin. At the same time, the Department of

Information and Analysis was dissolved and reduced to the level of a sector. The manager of the Department, Andrzej Nartowski, was removed from his post and assigned to work in communications, his area of expertise.

The Plenum of the Krakow Committee also removed Zdzislaw Les from his post as editor-in-chief of the GAZETA KRAKOWSKA and elected to this post Dr Slawomir Tabkowski, former editor-in-chief of the KRAJOWA AGENCJA WYDAWNICZA [National Publishing Agency] in Krakow. For many years comrade Tabkowski has worked in the RSW "Press-Book-Movement" and been a party and social activist in the city of Krakow.

All the personnel changes enumerated by comrade Gajewicz were approved unanimously by the Krakow Committee.

The meeting concluded with singing of the "Internationale."

CSO: 2600/450



LOMZA PROVINCE PARTY REPORTS CONFERENCE DISCUSSED

Losses of Party Membership

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 19 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by J. Brodziuk: "Why Did They Leave?" under the rubric "Prior to the Reports Conference in Lomza"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /In April of last year the Secretariat of the Lomza Province PZPR Committee asked the scientific associates of the Sociology Center at the Higher School of Social Sciences under the Central Committee to poll persons removed and expelled from the party. The objective was to analyze in greater depth the reasons for resignations from the party and hence also to document and eliminate negative phenomena in the party's activity./

Such a poll was undertaken by Dr Wacław Bielicki and Dr Władysław Grygolec.

The party is a living organism that experienced and experiences continuous changes. The composition and social structure of its memberships also are changing. This is a continuous process, but the more than 30 years of history of the PZPR have been marked by periods of magnified influx and efflux of membership. The efflux was usually linked to periods of socio-economic crises. But departures from the party, combined with the concurrent self-purging of its ranks, have never before been as numerous as during the period initiated by the events of August 1980.

Toward the end of June 1980 the Lomza organization had numbered 26,006 members and candidate members, whereas in November of last year it had 17,149. The party's ranks were abandoned by 8,804 members and candidate members, including those removed or expelled. On the other hand, newly admitted candidate members totaled 58 persons. Thus, the membership of the province party organization has markedly diminished.

The departures from the party's ranks reached their apogee in 1981. They were due to the then nearing climax of political and socio-economic struggle and destabilization which--such had been the general feeling--was difficult to master even though by then the party was operating under the program of the 9th Congress.

/During the period of the martial law and systematic reconstruction of the party's strength the deletions (of nearly 2,000 members and candidate members) were chiefly associated with purging the party's ranks as a result of vetting./ It also is worth noting that in the second half of 1980, when the political opposition had still lacked an organized system for struggle and its influence on society was small, only 662 members and candidate members had abandoned the party.

/The question arises: why did they depart?/ Properly speaking, it can be immediately answered, and the reasons given will be ranked in importance depending on the intentions of the person who answers it. But this question was asked not only at party meetings but also in the mass media, including the foreign ones as well as those aimed at dismantling our system of society and state. To some extremist centers this fact served (and still serves) as an argument in negating the leading role of the party and, bah, even the need to build socialism. In such a situation, the attempt at an objective analysis of this phenomenon deserves special attention.

The survey was extended to 409 former party members, or about 5 percent, who answered questions on the circumstances, motives and expectations of their joining the party, self-evaluation of performance in party work, and the circumstances and motives of resignation from the party as well as the manner in which that decision was adopted. /Of those surveyed about 70 percent are workers and farmers (124 and 161 persons, respectively), which assured representativeness of this study despite the relatively small number of respondents./ This was also assured by the fact that a definite majority of the respondents--like all those deleted and expelled--had joined the PZPR in the 1980s.

This survey clearly points to the faulty mechanism of party recruiting, especially by the party and administrative apparatus. Material gain had often been the chief motive for joining the party, especially in the rural community (becoming qualified for, e.g. the distribution of machinery) and among white-collar workers (chance for promotion). It is significant, though, that every 4th respondent claimed that he had joined the party because he accepted its policies. This applies chiefly to farmers.

The motives for joining the party determined the expectations associated with belonging to it. It turned out that workers most often expected help in solving important living problems as well as (more often, farmers and the intelligentsia) opportunities for social activity and "common work for a better future." But the general expectation was that the program and statute would be implemented properly along with "good governing." The failure to meet these expectations provided the reason for resigning from the party.

But what was the most important causative factor?

To workers, more than to other groups, the principal reason for surrendering party cards was the weakness of work of the party as a whole and the weak position of the party organization at the work establishment. Community pressure also was a major factor, particularly in periods of intensified social tensions, for example, pressure by co-workers and the publicization of abuses committed by

the top authorities. Often also stress was placed on the absence of concern for working people and the isolation of the leadership from the rank-and-file masses. Farmers named first pressure by the family and the community, next the party's weakness, and only third the lack of support for personal problems. Of the total number of respondents only every 20th--among workers, every 12th--named the influence of "Solidarity" as a direct cause. It is worth noting that a major cause of resignations from the party was not conflicts within primary party organizations or with party members performing organizational or administrative functions. A large part of the respondents assessed positively the work of their organizations, on criticizing, however, their leadership from the top, their subordination to the plant management, the artificial nature of the meetings and activities "for show." The duality of /such judgments may be chiefly attributes to the absence of activism among the respondents themselves/.

Noteworthy also is the fact that more than 60 percent of the respondents undertook the decision to resign from the party /"with some vacillation and resistance."/ And more than one-fourth /today consider it too hasty/. Only every third person does not regret his decision.

As the authors themselves note, it is difficult to infer general conclusions from this poll. Such surveys should be conducted systematically, if only because some of those who had resigned from the party basically do not differ from those remaining in its ranks. /But even such fragmentary studies can provide the premises for counteracting the tendencies to return to old habits of party work that arise here and there./

#### Difficulty of Returning to Accepted Principles

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 20 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by J. Brodziuk: "Difficult Return to Accepted Principles" under the rubric "Prior to the Lomza PZPR Reports Conference"]

[Text] the reports-and-election campaign 2 years ago had been dominated by criticism of the traditional style and methods of party work. The hardest accusations, hurled most often during tumultuous party meetings, were: the isolation of the leadership from the rank-and-file membership, the departure from democratic centralism, excessive red tape and ruling by directives, and the supplanting of state and economic administration by the party apparatus. The 9th Extraordinary Congress incorporated in the resolved-upon program and statute of the party practically all the principal suggestions made during the campaign with the object of improving the party's functioning. A new style and methods of action began to be mentioned.

Mentioned or introduced into practice? The political opponents, supported by diversionary centers in the West, hammered into the minds of those mistrustful toward the party and prejudiced against it that these were just words, not deeds. The popular slogan arose: the new is coming, the old stays on. It met with willing ears, the more so considering the marked decline in the vigor and effectiveness of the party's activities, especially at its grassroots level.

The introduction of the martial law put an end to the drastic socio-political destabilization and provided the conditions for rebuilding the party and implementing the program of the 9th Congress. It should be borne in mind here that the political opposition hardly attacked that program and instead focused on impeding its implementation and thus demonstrating that the party is incapable of translating it into reality.

After a year it can be boldly stated that the program is realistic. This is proved by the suspension itself of the martial law, the halting of the drastic decline in production of industry, and the first effects of the introduction of the economic reform, partial as it has been. I believe that all this is attributable also to new methods and style of action.

Without going into detail, let it be stated that this "innovation" consists in the return to the old Leninist principles of operation of the party, whose common element must be work with and for the people. This entails--automatically, as it were--the growth in the democratism and flexibility of action and constant exploration of more effective forms of influencing society, chiefly including the activation of basic party elements.

In the Lomza Province these changes are becoming visible at every organizational level. In the work of the Province Committee these changes mean more contact with basic echelons and the party organizations at larger work establishments; the departure from directive-type recommendations in favor of suggestions and proposals; factual consultation on draft materials; and a broader reliance on opinions than previously. These changes also are reflected in the more concrete work of commissions for cooperation between the party and other political parties and in the striving to reach common consensus with discrete social and occupational groups.

Considerable emphasis was placed on the problem of upbringing the youth and cooperating with youth organizations, given the object lesson provided by the period prior to December 1981, when it had turned out that the contemporary programs for work with the rising generation had often remained empty slogans. At present, contact with the youth is much more difficult, but attempts to establish it are being made through the participation of political workers in youth camps, informal meetings with the youth and the expansion of the program for patriotic upbringing. Teachers, too, are mobilized for these activities.

The quantity and quality of intra-party information have increased markedly. In November 1981 the Information Sector was established under the Province Committee. In addition to the provision of Central Committee services to basic echelons, current information on the province is being processed. For several months now the Province Committee has been publishing its own Information Bulletin, like the Lomza City party committee. Conspectuses for party work in discrete communities are being drafted. This flow of information--which some consider to be too large although not so long ago the opinions were different--is complemented by inter-plant bulletins and the bulletins of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) and the United Peasant Party (ZSL). Thus also conditions were provided for an adequate flow of information to party members and the entire public and hence also for their exercise of control over the apparatus of power.

The establishment of Regional Party Work Centers represented an attempt to adapt party structures to the new situation. After a year, the extent to which they fulfill their tasks remains debatable. For it is a fact that, aside from some practical assistance they provide to the basic echelons, these centers are still only potentially the means for a better flow of information and views.

The introduction of new forms of party work does not mean that they have produced the expected effects. The absence of directives and the extensive personnel changes within the party apparatus caused some echelons to find it difficult to draft their own plans of activity. It also has happened that comrades from the POP [basic party organizations] asked the Lomza City party committee for advice on what is to be done by them. The claim that abandoning the practice of briefing discussants has resulted in curtailment of discussions is simply ridiculous, considering that programs are to be drafted precisely on the basis of discussions.

It is thus becoming indispensable and urgent to conduct the practical training of comrades for conducting activities under the new conditions. For it has turned out that it is easier to criticize than to shoulder oneself the responsibility for specific decisions.

#### Reports Conference Procedure

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 25 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Brodziuk and Wawrzyniec Klosinski: "Authority is Built by the Accomplishments and Attitudes of Party Members: The Reports-Program Conference of the PZPR in Lomza"]

[Text] /Under the slogan "The Party's Leading Role is Decided by the Attitude of Its Members," the Province Reports-Program Conference of the PZPR in Lomza convened yesterday. It was attended by 239 delegates. The participants included the guests: Miroslaw Milewski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Witold Malinowski, Central Committee member; Jerzy Wojtecki, Minister of Agriculture and Food Management; Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the Socio-Occupational Department of the PZPR Central Committee; Krystyna Kostro, member of the Central Party Control Commission (CKKP); Zygmunt Grygo, chairman of the Province People's Council; Czeslaw Gartych, chairman of the Province Committee of the United Peasant Party; Marian Mieszkowski, chairman of the Province Committee of the Democratic Party; Col Stefan Kolasa, plenipotentiary of the Committee for National Defense (KOK) in the Lomza Province; veterans of the worker movement and delegates from work establishments./ [printed in boldface]

On the occasion of the centenary of the Polish worker movement Bronislaw Koprowicz, Teodor Kuczynski, Wladyslaw Winko, Wladyslaw Niksa and Jan Grodzik [text missing]. They also received letters of commendation from General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Those present honored with a moment of silence the memory of the deceased delegate from Rutko Gmina, Stanislaw Kosowski.

The report of the Province Committee on the activities of the province party echelon during the period since the Third Province Reports-and-Election Conference was presented by Wlodzimierz Michaluk, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee.

Next, the floor was taken by the province governor Jerzy Zientara. He discussed the basic problems of the current socio-economic situation in the province. He declared that, despite the progress achieved in many fields, the economy and the market still remain unbalanced, industrial output continues to be low, and declining trends in the slaughter livestock herd continue. In view of this the province draft plan for the current years specifies among the most important goals the sizable increase in crop production so as to assure self-sufficiency in fodder while at the same time curtailing the decline in the hog and cattle population. Other goals include alleviating the shortages of staple consumer goods, implementing the housing program and improving the communal infrastructure of the cities. The draft budget allocates to agriculture 50 percent of all outlays, and it also gives priority to health care, education and culture.

The principal prerequisite for expanding agricultural output is eliminating the disproportions between the growth of crop and livestock production and adapting the latter to the available local fodder resources complemented only with the indispensable quantities of purchased fodder and feed concentrates. Efforts have been undertaken to obtain extra funds for expanding the land reclamation program. The efficiency of the management of available resources and the application of economic instruments for guiding agricultural production require further refinement. This will be assisted by the expansion of the agricultural and food industry.

Krystyna Kostro, the delegate from Szepietow, declared that the country can be rescued from the crisis not through heroic deeds but through conscientious fulfillment of everyday duties by every Pole. Speaking of the socio-economic situation of the Lomza countryside, she stressed its marked development despite the concurrent underinvestment and shortages of means of production. Investments in the countryside will be recouped in the form of greater agricultural output.

This problem was also the main topic of comments by the farmers Witold Malinowski (Grabowo Gmina), Stanislaw Sokolowski (Stawiski Gmina) and Karol Modzelewski (Rutki), who spoke of the recent joint Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and ZSL [United Peasant Party] Supreme Committee. They also devoted much attention to the need for a correct utilization of the Agricultural Development Fund and the expansion of contract drives. They pointed to the persisting instances of disregard of the decisions made by rural self-government.

Transmitting to the delegates wishes for fruitful deliberations, Czeslaw Gartych, chairman of the ZSL Province Committee, and Marian Mieszkowski, chairman of the SD [Democratic Party] Province Committee, declared that, among other things, a close cooperation of the party and the other political parties in solving the problems of the socialist state and the building of a broad front for national agreement, as based on mutual partnership, provides one of the guarantees for the renewal.

Mieczyslaw Czerniawski, first secretary of the Lomza City committee, stressed that party elements are more consolidated these days and take concrete steps but are characterized by a calm that is so excessive as to often turn into passivity.

And yet, mistrust and suspicion of the party's activities are displayed still in many milieux. They can be overcome primarily by the activism of party members, the concrete nature of the actions of party elements, a program of accomplishments. The principal task is to restore the party's place in the life of the working people--and the place of the working people in the party. That is why party echelons and organizations should relate more closely to everyday life and assure working people of exercising a genuine influence on party and administrative decisions, while at the same time becoming amenable to social control. These principles are being introduced in the city party organization, at which the sessions of the city committee or the executive board are the beginning rather than the end of action.

The speaker further stated that the party's exercise of its political and leading role is greatly influenced by the consistent abandonment of the instrumental treatment of the POPs and the influence exerted by party members on the functioning of the public and youth organizations, self-governments and trade unions to which they belong.

During the discussion many questions were asked concerning agriculture, especially the profitability of agricultural production. Answering these questions, Minister Wojtecki acknowledged that profitability should be considered from the standpoint of unit production cost. The comparison of, e.g. the free-market price of potatoes with hog prices is misleading. In 1982 the ratio of the incomes of the rural population to those of the urban population was 104 to 100. This year, even after price revisions, rural income will not be lower than urban income.

As regards land reclamation, the Minister was gratified by the statement of the province governor Jerzy Zientara that this year one-half of outlays in the Lomza Province is allocated for improving water management. This year the supplies of means of production will further increase: among other things, the Lomza Province will receive an additional 300 tractors. At the same time, the Minister pointed to the inefficient utilization of land, as reflected in the continuing decline in the liming of soils. On the national scale, last year 126 kilograms of lime were applied per hectare, compared with only 18 kilograms in the Lomza Province. In view of the marked acidification of the soil, this means that the harvests of local fodder may diminish. Comrade Wojtecki stressed the party's role in developing rural self-government. It is the party's task to assure a just distribution and settle matters properly on its territory, on state farms and at agricultural circles' cooperatives. Neither the province governor nor the government will replace the party in attending to these matters.

Jan Grygo, the delegate from Kolno, regarded the persisting shortcomings in the educational system as a major cause of conflicts and social tensions in recent years. He also stressed that party members lack sufficient familiarity with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Regarding the same topic, Roman Engler of Lomza pointed to the activities of the youth movement, as based on a return to the tried and tested system for upbringing through work which also results in personal enrichment of young people as individuals. Mikolaj Jednacz of Lomza stated that the upbringing of youth is particularly important in view of the rising demographic peak.

The experience of the past period indicates that the youth should be equipped to a greater extent with the ability to evaluate all information.

Taking a position on the comments made during the discussion, Mirosław Milewski, Central Committee secretary, stressed that the party's efforts are focused on rebuilding its undermined ties with the public. The decision to proclaim the martial law has a historical dimension. It is essential that all the elements underlying that decision have been translated into reality. This is to the credit of the army, the organs of the militia and all those who rallied to the defense of socialism, as well as of the reaction from an overwhelming majority of the public. The implementation itself of the assumptions and the course of the martial-law period indicate that the martial law was declared not against society but against the political opponents, that the desire for revenge was alien to the party.

The progress is evident at every step. But the path of emergence from the crisis will be arduous and largely dependent on its validity in the minds and hearts of society. That is why no party echelon or element can afford to be inconsistent. The Central Committee secretary further stated that the point is that the process initiated during the martial law should proceed in the direction specified in the program of the 9th Congress and represent a return to the Leninist principles of attitudes and standards. Nowadays following the interests of the country rather than of the individual is a proof of patriotism--this is the particular although unpopular obligation of party members.

The Central Committee secretary also warned against the plans of the diversionary centers and political opposition, which remain unchanged. Economic and political restrictions continue to be applied against Poland. A boycott of the new trade unions and joining the legal structures with the object of creating an atmosphere of passive resistance are being recommended. The atmosphere of confrontation and social tension is being maintained. Economic problems and the difficulties of everyday will still long contribute to the creation of that atmosphere. This should be counteracted by means of a broader flow of information and the party training system.

In the last part of his speech M. Milewski focused on economic problems. The crisis will still make itself felt for a long time. The party's task must be a close adherence to the principles of social justice, the protection of social groups with average and substandard incomes. Party members must oppose all parochial tendencies and bear in mind the interests of the state and nation.

Altogether 24 comrades took part in the discussion and 24 submitted recommendations to the Commission for Resolutions and Recommendations.

The delegates adopted a resolution specifying the directions of activity of the province echelon until the end of its term of office, as well as a resolution concerning the proposals made during the conference. On closing the deliberations of the Province Reports-Program Conference, Włodzimierz Michałuk, first secretary of the Province Committee, declared, among other things: "A great deal of work awaits us. The tasks outlined today must become the property of all party organizations."



Wlodzimierz Michaluk also thanked all delegates for active participation in the deliberations, which were ended by singing "The International."

#### 1st Secretary Wlodzimierz Michaluk's Speech

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 215 Jan 83 p 3

[Report: "Highlights of the Speech of Wlodzimierz Michaluk, first secretary of the Lomza Province PZPR Committee, at the Province Reports-and-Program Conference"]

[Text] The first secretary of the Province Committee started his speech by referring to socio-political conditions in this country during 1981-1982--conditions which also influenced the activity of the province party organization. He emphasized that the introduction of the martial law succeeded in halting the process of political, social and economic disintegration. The martial law period was fully utilized by the party to capably coordinate tasks performed in behalf of defense of the state, strengthen the people's rule and bring order into the national economy, and consistently implement the program of the 9th Congress. But the economy still displays absence of a market equilibrium, low labor productivity and a deficient wage incentive system; inflation persists as well. Trade unions slowly are being reborn, worker self-governments are renewing their activity and the activism of the people's councils is increasing. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is growing.

The activities of the province party echelon and its statutory organs were subordinated to and ensued from the resolutions of the 9th congress, the successive plenary sessions of the Central Committee and the Third Province Reports-and-Election Conference. The document resolved upon at that conference imposed the obligation of implementing the proposals of party echelons and organizations, mobilizing the broad aktiv for the work of the province echelon, and restricting the practice of directive-based guidance of the work of basic party elements as well as providing the conditions for strengthening their autonomy. The manner in which the proposals were attended to was described in the materials provided to the conference's delegates.

Comrade Michaluk declared that the new method for preparing plenary sessions produced positive results on including in these preparations the delegates to the province conference and the Party Congress, other aktiv and the problem commissions of the Province Committee. We undertook this task with the idea that the adopted resolutions can be implemented if they are drafted by the broadest masses of party members. We must popularize this element of party work among the basic echelons, and the first positive results of this measure have already been noted at the city party committee in Lomza and the city-gmina committee in Grajewo.

In accordance with the explicit demand of the Reports-and-Election Conference, we improved the functioning of intra-party information. Improvements took place in direct contacts between members of party authorities at all levels and employees of the party apparatus, on the one hand, and grassroots party cells as well as work-forces at labor establishments and, more recently, foremen and brigade leaders at larger plants, on the other.

The activities of the party echelons and organizations have also been focused on providing the necessary conditions for the application of the economic reform and encouragement of the initiative and autonomy of the state and economic administration and the public and self-government organizations in order to relax social tensions. The effects achieved are due to, among other things, the partnership and cooperation of the province echelons of the ZSL and SD. The activities of the territorial operating groups and the plenipotentiaries of the Military Council for National Salvation were of considerable assistance.

Last year the decline in the province's industrial production was halted and in recent months production has even increased. Artisan trades and consumer services are developing. In socialized housing construction a record-breaking 1,469 dwellings has been released for occupancy. The procurements of meat and livestock have increased. But labor productivity still remains below the nation-wide average. The consumption of bread and processed grain products in the province greatly exceeds the grain procurements. The Province Committee stated that this warrants posing a simple yet eloquent question to every rural party organization and the farmers: is their share in food production commensurate with the possibilities? On the other hand, the efforts of farmers should be supported with aid from the state. In the case of the Lomza Province, in particular, more outlays are needed for land reclamation, rural water supply and the shipments of building materials to the countryside.

Next, Wlodzimierz Michaluk discussed the course of the reports-and-program campaign so far--a campaign representing another stage in the consolidation of the party.

A decisive majority of the meetings at basic party organizations took place in the proper climate and the discussion was to the point, rational, and dealt with the principal problems of the community, the work establishment and agriculture. The mood of anger, bitterness, criticism and impatience, directed almost exclusively at the top leadership has largely diminished and in some party organizations even died down. A more sober view of reality has come to the fore, along with realization of one's own role in solving problems, one's own share of responsibility--not for the crisis but for the pace of surmounting it. These positive aspects of the transformations of reality should be consolidated.

The progress of the implementation of recommendations and postulates by party echelons was assessed positively despite the critical comments that also are being made. It has to be stated, however, that during this campaign not enough was said about party matters, the need to develop political and ideological work, the role and tasks of members in the activities of the newly arising structures of public and economic life such as the movement for patriotic rebirth, the worker self-governments and the trade unions. The discussion also did not include the question of the self-assessment of attitudes and actions by party members and party organizations. On the other hand, personal views of the resolutions and opinions of entire party organizations and statutory organs of the party were often expressed.

It can be concluded from this that it will still take some time before the members of party organizations and echelons become fully committed to the process of political leadership within their communities.

Even now, however--the speaker stressed--an increasing number of people become convinced that the party is an unusually durable organism which becomes toughened in extreme conflict situations and that, in laying bare its own mistakes and shortcomings it represents a force capable of meeting society's expectations. This is confirmed at least by the influx of new members to the party, the desire to return to the party felt by some who have hastily surrendered their party cards, and by the everyday feelings of people who, during the period of great emotions, presented and expressed extremely negative opinions of the party but by now are beginning to wonder whether they may not have been mistaken on this subject.

The reports campaign has caused the program activities of basic party elements to become uniform in following the resolution of the 9th PZPR Plenum. What matters now is consistency in implementing that resolution.

The paramount task which is always advocated by the party is building a front of national agreement. The role of party echelons and organizations is to create the political climate for the activity of elements of the movement for national rebirth, as well as to assure that valuable initiatives and proposals of that movement would not be sidetracked. This also concerns activities in behalf of the activism and resourcefulness of trade unions and the propagation of knowledge about the role and function of trade unions in the socialist state.

Of the multiplicity of unusually difficult problems engendered by the economic crisis the party echelons and organizations should tackle the most urgent and often painful problems. They should solve and regulate them energetically. Such actions will gain the party new supporters and sympathizers and attract those standing aside.

The experiences of the past period necessitate vigorous action by the party to support and apply society's expectations. This is inseparably tied to a consistent principle of social justice, respect for law and order, and elimination of negative phenomena and social pathology.

In popular feelings the principle of social justice often reduces to a just and honest distribution of goods. But while this is not to be denied, it should be continually borne in mind that the production of the largest possible quantities of goods is a prerequisite for the increase in public welfare. Thus, it is a priority task for the party to undertake maximum efforts in behalf of increasing agricultural and industrial production, conserving materials and raising labor productivity.

Discussing other tasks of the party, comrade Michaluk pointed to the need to increase the effectiveness of people's councils; the coming elections will be an important political act on the path toward the further normalization of

life in our country. As in the people's councils so within self-government and public organizations, too, the party should exert its influence through the mediation of party teams. In cadre policy, bureaucratic nomenclature should be replaced with a system of recommendations and the traditional criterion of party membership should give way to a merit-based evaluation of candidates for managerial posts.

Despite the tangible changes to the better--the speaker declared in conclusion--we still face huge tasks. /But the cardinal and paramount thing is that we desire to serve society as best as we can. However, wishes alone are not enough. We must translate them into reality through everyday work./ [printed in boldface].

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KEY TASKS FOR MINISTRY OF HEALTH, SOCIAL WELFARE IN 1983 PUBLISHED

Warsaw SLUZBA ZDROWIA in Polish 27 Feb, 6 Mar 83

[Official document: "Key Tasks of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare"]

[27 Feb 83 p 6]

[Text] Health services and social welfare constitute an essential element of the state's social policy.

The basis for activities of health services and social welfare in 1983 is composed of the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers Party, resolution of the plenum of the ZSL National Committee and the plenum of the SD Central Committee of 1982, declaration of the Military Council of National Salvation, implementation of public contracts and continuation of assignments undertaken in 1982.

In order to bring these principles into effect, the ministry will have to carry on diversified activities in 1983.

Attention in 1983 will have to be focused on greater efficacy of placement of medical personnel as a precondition to effective health services and further improvement of availability, quality and culture of work, particularly in basic medical care. Efforts should also be continued to mobilize all reserves in labor organization and material base so as to achieve further improvement in its utilization.

Steps will be taken to adapt the principles of functioning of health service and social welfare units to conditions of the economic reform.

For attaining these goals, the main tasks of the ministry of health and social welfare are recognized as the following:

- I. Fight with prevalent health hazards;
- II. Further improvement of operation of basic health services;
- III. Improved maternity and child care;

IV. Improved psychiatric care;

V. Coordinated public assistance;

VI. Improved personnel policies;

VII. Improved supplies and usage of pharmaceuticals, medical materials and equipment, as well as the material base of health and social care services;

VIII. Improved organization of health services and social welfare.

I. Fighting Prevalent Health Hazards

The prevalence of certain negative health conditions requires continuing in 1983 a number of activities by the ministry; the main activities include:

1. Prevention and treatment of circulation diseases:

1.1. Training primary care physicians for prevention, early detection, initial diagnosis and follow-up therapy, particularly of hypertension and cardiovascular insufficiency:

a) continuing education of at least one physician from each district outpatient clinic and parish health center, factory clinic, inter-factory clinic or academic clinic;

b) preparation of a manual for primary care by the Institute of Cardiology for effective consultation of hypertensive and cardiac patients.

1.2. Monitoring, by expert cardiologists, of uses of available equipment and apparatus for intensive cardiac care and arrangements in hospitals possessing such equipment for heart patients with life threatening conditions.

1.3. Organizing heart consultation centers at provincial level in the following voivodships: Ciechanow, Biala Podlaska, Elblag, Zamosc, Chelm, Jelenia Gora and Przemysl.

1.4. Training emergency ambulance team physicians in proper procedures in cases of cardiac arrest.

2. Prevention and treatment of oncological diseases:

2.1. Arrangement for prophylactic examinations:

a) of select groups of workers exposed at their work to factors such as unsaturated aromatic hydrocarbons, asbestos and vinyl chloride,

b) of women working at enterprises with oncological consultation stations;  
and

c) women coming for consultation to general public oncological consultation centers.

2.2. Introduction of cytological tests for early detection of cancer of female reproductive organs, as well as tests for all hospitalized patients.

2.3. Organizing oncological consultation centers at provincial levels at Tarnobrzeg, Nowy Sacz, Chelm, Walbrzych and Jelenia Góra.

### 3. Prophylaxis and treatment of tuberculosis:

3.1. Arrangements for giving Calmette-Guerin [anti-tuberculosis] vaccine to all newborn.

3.2. Introduction of a new vaccination schedule covering tuberculosis prevention.

3.3. Conducting demographic investigations (80 percent of tested population) in at least two medical-prophylactic districts in each province.

3.4. Providing tuberculosis consultation stations with emergency ambulances (20 ambulances).

3.5. Development of diagnostic base, particularly for bacteriological studies; setting up 25 bacteriological laboratories.

3.6. Introduction in three provinces: Skierniewic, Poznan and Warszaw, of a modified tuberculosis treatment as a pilot project.

### 4. Accident and injury prevention:

4.1. Setting up highway accident first aid programs in 20 provinces.

4.2. Furnishing accident emergency ambulances with life-saving and medical equipment.

### 5. Prevention and treatment of kidney diseases:

5.1. Setting up in eight provinces nephrological consultation stations within the framework of existing specialized outpatient clinics.

5.2. Increasing the number of artificial kidney equipment to 20, according to the program of development of dialysis therapy for 1982-83. Creating conditions to enable dialysis stations to work two or three shifts, mainly through improved staffing with auxiliary personnel.

5.3. Introduction, in accordance with the agreements adopted in 1982 with the proper clinics of medical academies in Katowice and Krakow, **Szczecin**

Public Provincial Hospital and Child Health Center of kidney transplantation operations.

6. Prevention and the fight against tobacco smoking:

6.1. Developing a network of consultation points on how to quit smoking.

6.2. Observance by health and social welfare services of the provisions of the order of the health minister of 7 June 1974 on limitation of smoking for health reasons.

6.3. Cooperation with the Anti-Nicotine Society in dissemination of health information.

7. Fight against alcoholism:

7.1. Developing, publishing and promulgating executive instructions to legislation on sobriety and the fight against alcoholism. This concerns the following measures:

a) conditions and methods of evaluation of alcohol content in the human organism,

b) procedures for recruitment of experts, principles of expert judgment and conditions and methods of investigation to determine alcohol dependency,

c) organization, operating principles and types of alcohol treatment units and institutions of social assistance to alcoholics, as well as principles for participation of primary health care services in providing care for alcohol-dependent individuals,

d) regulation of the functions of stationary medical facilities for alcoholism control and public aid centers for alcohol-dependent persons.

7.2. Creation of four inpatient alcohol clinics with a total number of 250 beds in the following provinces: Krakow (162), Legnica (44) and Radom (44).

7.3. Creation of 11 treatment consultation stations in the following provinces: Bialystock, Bielsk, Konin, Krakow, Koszalin (3), Lublin, Olsztyn, Radom, Tarnow and a day ward with 15 beds in Poznan.

7.4. Evaluation of the implementation of tasks of the individual provinces as regards proper use of the anti-alcoholism funds (state as of 31 December 1983).

7.5. Introduction into provincial health education programs of matters of children's upbringing in sobriety and actions against spread of alcoholism, particularly in regard to school age children.



8. Counteraction of drug addiction:

8.1. Advanced education in 1983 at the course organized at the Continuing Medical Education Center and Psychoneurological Institute of 25 physicians to specialize in treatment of drug addicts.

8.2. Inclusion in the programs of provincial centers of continuing education of the issue of drug addiction with particular emphasis on participation of primary care medical personnel in such courses.

9. Raising the sanitary conditions in the country and prevention of contagious diseases:

9.1. A major task of the ministry is to raise the sanitary conditions in the country, especially in health care facilities. Improvements in this area will be achieved through:

a) prophylaxis and prevention of epidemics of diseases spread by the alimentary route,

b) organizing general rat control action and insect extermination in health care facilities,

c) control of sanitary and hygienic conditions in hospitals to reduce nosocomial infections. Inspection should be made at least twice a year mainly of gynecological, obstetric and neonate wards, operation rooms, particularly, as regards sterilization conditions, as well as laundry and food supply facilities. Control should embrace the entire process and organization of laundry, nutrition and sterilization.

d) intensified enforcement and control action by state sanitary inspection as regards educational, day care and entertainment facilities, food enterprises, and public nutrition facilities,

e) assistance in reactivation of the movement for rural hygiene, which during the first period of its action is aimed at health education of the public in cooperation with public organizations active in the countryside (Polish Red Cross, Rural Youth Union, Anti-Alcohol Social Committee, circles of village housewives and others), as well as volunteer action towards improvement of sanitary conditions in villages. Practical forms of organization of health councils, health schools, etc. should be recommended.

f) introduction in the country of a new system for testing and evaluation of atmospheric air pollution in at least 25 provinces,

g) establishment of the principles of cooperation between state sanitary inspection and state labor inspection with a view to improving the conditions of labor safety and hygiene in industries presenting greatest health hazards.

9.2. Publication of updated instructions on the fight against viral hepatitis, steps towards implementation of these instructions and directives on better stabilization at health care services.

9.3. Introduction of pilot vaccination programs for roseola and mumps.

## II. Improved Efficiency of Operation of Primary Health Care

A basic element in efficient operation of the entire health care system is proper organization and an adequate level of primary health care. This concerns primarily better access, higher quality and culture of services.

A. To improve and reinforce the operation of basic health care, steps will be taken in 1983 which follow from the document approved on 18 December 1981 by Government Presidium, "Guidelines for Improvement of Primary Health Care at Places of Residence for the Years 1982-85," and provincial programs developed on the basis of this document. The following steps are planned to achieve the required results:

1. Ensuring a leading role of units of basic health care at place of residence (division of functions in the area of cooperation with industrial and education of health services and specialized care).

2. Improved efficiency of work of units of basic health care through advanced educational personnel, organizational efficiency and improved volunteer control:

--provisions for continuing education at Voivodship Centers for the Improvement of Medical Personnel of one-third of physicians of general outpatient clinics in citizen villages on the basis of the program developed by the Institute of Labor, Medicine and Village Hygiene in Lublin;

--introduction of organizational regulations ensuring adequate utilization of medical personnel.

3. Enlargement of the forms of professional supervision of the work of basic medical care units through enrollment of primary care interns in health care teams not possessing hospitals.

4. Development of the network of units of basic health care: organization of 17 health care centers and 15 outpatient clinics and improvement of local conditions at 50 centers and 54 clinics.

5. Manpower development through employment of an additional 320 general physicians, 120 pediatricians, 100 gynecologists, 150 stomatologists, 500 community nurses and 150 local midwives. (In 1983, stomatologists will be employed on staff at educational facilities and local stomatological consultation units for the general population.)

6. Ensuring and maintaining distinctive salary advantages to create motivation for taking employment in primary health care on a full-time

and part-time basis and priorities in distribution of apartments, means of transportation, etc.

7. Conducting further work on education at medical academies and continuing education of physicians for basic health care in the framework of the educational reform currently under way.

8. Continuing experimental program of free choice of physician and evaluating its results.

9. Standardization of the principles and work functions of resident physicians.

10. Regulating issues involved in operation of industrial-medical consultation units and so-called "authorized" health consultation units.

B. To improve health care for workers employed in industries presenting health hazards, it is necessary to ensure implementation of the "Program of Development of Health Care of Industrial Workers for 1982-85."

Implementing the provisions of this program for 1983 will involve:

1. Setting up four factory outpatients clinics, 20 interfactory clinics and two occupational disease consultation centers.

2. Increasing the manpower base by additional employment of 80 local industrial physicians and 100 nurses.

3. Introducing 70 openings for professional rehabilitation work.

4. Introducing new principles and procedures for establishing temporary labor disability.

5. Practicing salary advantages for local industrial physicians and providing opportunities for their advanced education.

### III. Improvement of Maternity and Child Care

For improved effectiveness of the health care provided to mothers, children and the young, the ministry will take in 1983 the following actions:

1. Continuation of further reduction of infant mortality through:

--improved conditions of delivery by increasing the number of maternity ward beds by 675 and newborn ward beds by 713, and also, as far as possible in local conditions, introduction of the "rooming-in" hospitalization system;

--introduction of 417 new beds in pediatric departments;

--improved supply of state-of-the-art equipment to delivery rooms, maternity wards and pathological pregnancy departments for monitoring the pregnancy conditions and the process of labor. In 1983, electro-

cardiographic equipment from the GDR (guaranteed supply of 30 units) and domestically manufactured ultrasonographs (20 units) will be installed, primarily in obstetric departments of provincial hospitals;

- equipment of pregnancy pathology consultation centers and other gynecological consultations with commonly available domestically manufactured fetal heart rate detector and ultrasonic placental localizers;
- providing round-the-clock gasometric monitors for maternity and neonate wards, primarily in central provincial hospitals;
- immediate notification by obstetric-gynecological departments of the appropriate (according to the place of residence) district pediatric consultation center or health care center as to the birth of a child;
- provision of effective health care to healthy and sick infants;
- observance by health care personnel of epidemic provincial principles and prophylaxis of nosocomial infections through execution by bacteriological laboratories of TSSE [?] or health care teams, at least once each quarter, of bacteriological investigations in obstetric-gynecological, neonatal and pediatric departments, with particular attention to equipment and facilities.

2. Improvement of prenatal care through increasing the indicator of early registration of pregnant women by 5 percent and raising the mean number of consultations per one pregnant woman to six.

3. Introduction of universal action to prevent serological incompatibility by practicing, as an obligatory procedure, after miscarriage in women with Rh-negative blood types anti-D-immunoglobulin treatment.

4. Establishing 100 gynecological consultation stations including 60 urban and 40 rural.

5. Introducing 130 community midwife openings, including 80 urban and 50 rural.

6. Improved access of services for infants and young children through establishment of 120 pediatric consultation centers: 40 urban and 80 rural.

7. Development, with cooperation of specialized inspection in the area of obstetrics and gynecology, as well as pediatrics and school medicine, of the principles of organization and functioning, of different levels of medical care to women with high risk pregnancy complications and the newborn requiring intensive medical care, as well as developing a schedule for implementation of these principles.

8. Developing, with participation of the Institute of Mother and Child, of a system for registration of congenital defects and tentative introduction of the system in eight provinces.

9. Improved execution of tests for detection of *phenylketonuria* in neonates discharged from the hospital before the fourth day of life.

10. Expanding the form of care to young children and adolescents through:  
--setting up 240 beds in Dziwnowk sanitarium for children attended to by their mothers;  
--increasing by 100 the number of places for secondary school students in sanatoria during vacation.

11. Creation of new school medicine consultation stations at 35 health care teams;  
--employing approximately 200 nurses to staff educational and child care facilities. Continuing employment of nurses with masters degrees at secondary schools.

12. Cooperation with organizers of summer activities for children and adolescents to ensure physician and nurse care for them.

[6 Mar 83 p 6]

#### IV. Improvement of Psychiatric Care

In raising the level of psychiatric health care in 1983, the following tasks are most important:

1. Improvement of conditions of stay and treatment of patients in neurologic and psychiatric hospitals in Drewnica, Kobierzyn, Lubiaz, Bolestawiec, Swiecie, Sieniawka, Rybnik, Toszek, Kochanowka, Warcia, Radecznica and Gorzow--through repair and modernization of facilities and at Lubieniec Hospital through completion of two psychiatric departments totalling 440 beds;

2. Creation of a 35-bed psychiatric department at Dzialdow (Ciechanow Province) and beginning of the construction of a 100-bed department in Radecznica Hospital;

3. Development of mediated forms of psychiatric health care through creation of:

--day care departments for adults in the following provinces: Krakow, (three departments, 30 places each), Kalisz (30 places), Lodz (30 places), Turun (35 places) and Ostroleka (15 places);

--day care departments for children in Katowice Province (30 places) and Tarnow (15 places);

--home care in Turun Province (5-10 places);

4. Participation of primary health care physicians with psychiatric and drug addiction treatment in areas of prevention of mental diseases and alcohol and drug addiction, and treatment of patients with mental disorders and addicts;

5. Preparation by the Psychoneurological Institute of a program of "Minimum Knowledge" in adult, children's and adolescent psychiatry and addiction treatment for primary care physicians;

6. Development by the Institute of Mother and Child of methods for detection of psychiatric disorders in children to be used during the course of basic personality tests;

7. Developing guidelines for a draft law on psychiatric health care.

This involves the following actions:

--in the area of organization and operation of hostels;

--organization of psychiatric treatment at home;

8. Issuance and execution of an updated order of the ministry of health and social welfare covering the scope of activity of psychiatric health care institutions and facilities intended to perform prevention functions;

9. Introduction and updating before the end of the first quarter of 1983 by provincial administrations of provincial programs of health care and social aid to persons with psychiatric conditions;

10. Creation of provincial psychiatric health clinics in the following provinces: Czestochow, Jelenia Gora, Krosno, Piotrkow and Rzeszow;

11. Development by the Psychoneurological Institute of a program of health care education in the area of mental health and prevention of psychiatric disorders;

12. Consistent enlargement of physician, nurse and paramedic employment in mental health care facilities.

#### V. Coordination of Public Assistance

Problems of public assistance become particularly important in the current environment of economic difficulties in the country. Apart from the considerably increased financial allocations, there is a need for greater efficiency in the entire structure of social assistance.

In socialist system activities in 1983 the following issues will be of primary importance:

1. A complete identification of individuals and families requiring public assistance.

2. Standardization of documentation used by social workers and introduction of "community survey cards."

3. Putting into effect guidelines for activity determined by the program for coordination of social assistance, in particular:

a) increasing the employment of social workers by at least 1200 persons in order to attain by 1985 a total of 11,000 social workers according to the principle of having one social worker per population group of 3500,

with priority employment of social workers in parish and village health centers;

b) establishing coordination teams in parishes and towns concerned with public assistance to ensure complete coordination of services;

c) increasing the number of local volunteer public assistance, particularly at industrial enterprises.

4. Increasing the number of individuals in the care of the Polish Red Cross by at least 12 percent to attain 68,000 persons.

5. Increasing the number of persons receiving care from the Polish Social Assistance Committee by at least 4,000 to attain approximately 22,000 cases.

6. Increasing the number of places in public assistance houses by 2,687, including 750 spaces due to new investment. Initiating construction of public assistance houses for 1,037 spaces.

7. Creation of 20 daily public assistance houses accommodating 630 persons and also 30 so-called "rural farmers' houses."

8. Further development of public assistance manpower through:

--two-level education in provinces;

a) for newly employed personnel without vocational education;

b) for diploma'd personnel;

--education of supervisory personnel of provinces (three groups) at the centralized level.

9. Improvement of community public assistance to families of alcoholics and low-income families:

--organizing at the basic provincial and central levels identification of families eligible for assistance from family aid funds and from allocations for aid to families of alcoholics;

--executing, in the second half of the year, control by the ministry as to the adequate provision of services.

10. Evaluation of the status of availability of public assistance services in the country.

11. Further development of current activities of daily adaptation centers for emotionally disturbed adolescents and adults and cooperation in organizing in 1983 of day adjustment centers in Lodz, Krakow and Rzeszow.

12. Updating regulations regarding payment for stays in public assistance houses and day adjustment centers.

13. Focusing attention, during control in provinces, on further development of day shelters and parish nursing homes.

## VI. Personnel Policy Development

One of the basic tasks of the ministry in 1983 will be development of personnel policy, particularly activities involved in basic and continuing education of personnel and correct territorial and structural placement and effective use of available manpower.

Further advancement of personnel policy is to be achieved--

### A. In basic and continuing education of personnel:

1. Maintaining the quotas of admission to medical courses at the level of 1982, i.e., 6,000 students annually, with particular emphasis on admission to stomatological and pharmaceutical departments.
2. Increasing the admission quotas to secondary medical schools, mainly of nurses and midwives, by 10 percent, particularly in provinces experiencing shortages of medical personnel.
3. Establishing in 1983 a sanitary-hygienic department at the Medical Academy in Lodz and deliberation of the feasibility of setting up a pediatric department at the Medical Academy in Warsaw.
4. Continuing work on reform of medical studies at therapeutic departments, with time terms allowing its introduction on 1 December 1984.
5. Taking steps toward transfer of secondary medical education into the control of the ministry of health and social welfare.
6. Changing the education system by limiting the number and form of courses and increasing the scope of local workshops and seminars.
7. Limiting the number of basic medical specializations to 33-35.
8. Developing and implementing the system for basic and continuing education of management personnel.
9. Efforts for speeding up the publication of the statute of physician chambers as proposed by the Polish Medical Association to the health and physical culture commission of the Sejm.

### B. In the area of medical personnel placement and employment:

1. Fulfillment of supervisory and coordinating functions by the ministry of health and social welfare in utilization and placement of medical personnel regardless of the administrative or professional subordination.
2. Introduction of the principle of centralized management of new personnel correlated with a system of graduate placement and openings and wage funds distribution.



3. Introduction, at the first stage of employment norms at units where an increase of employment is observed or likely.
4. Providing, as a first priority, personnel for preferred departments with simultaneous limitations of employment at other departments or discontinuance of full-time employment (part-time physician work, licensed consultations, etc.).
5. Elaboration of detailed assignments for individual professional groups, with a view to appropriate transfers to ensure better utilization of personnel in accordance with qualifications.
6. Introducing the principle of temporary employment of personnel in hospitals with simultaneous definition of a percentage of specialists to ensure proper functioning of the facilities.
7. Ensuring a six-day work week of institutions of health service and social welfare.
8. Improvement of organizational structures in health services and social welfare, particularly limiting the number of administrative positions and employment of professional personnel for patient care, with simultaneous limitation to employment of medical personnel for administrative functions.
9. Introducing changes in binding regulations concerning contest-based employment for certain positions by limiting the number of such positions.

#### C. In the Area of Wages:

1. Correcting minimum basic salaries and bonuses, with priority treatment of selected categories.
2. Establishing and introducing, within the framework of available wage funds, contract based remuneration for visiting specialists.
3. Studying the feasibility of introducing:
  - a) a percentage salary increase for length of service (stage by stage);
  - b) other forms of contract-based emoluments.

#### VII. Improved Supply and Usage of Drugs, Materials and Medical Equipment and Material Base of Health Service and Social Welfare

Improved activity of health services and social welfare largely depends on a better utilization of the material base, medical equipment and apparatus and rational utilization of drugs.

In 1983 the ministry will concentrate its attention on the following issues:

A. In the area of improved supply and utilization of drugs:

1. Continuing work involved in development of a draft law on drugs, anesthetics, sanitary articles, pharmacies and the pharmaceutical profession.
2. Participation in development of legal regulations on monopolization of poppy plantations.
3. Publication of a new Government Pharmacopeia covering positions of primary importance for patients.
4. Examination of guidelines concerning purposive import of drugs as regards its limitation and improved control of prescription of these drugs.
5. Participation in control of implementation of "Directives of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare of 29 November 1982 in the Area of Efficient Utilization of Drugs."
6. Obligating the national and provincial specialist surveillance to concentrate activity on rational utilization of drugs, primarily on appropriate drug administration by physicians in the specialties concerned, both in hospitals and outpatient clinics.
7. Obligating physicians in five major urban areas--Lodz, Katowice, Krakow, Warsaw and Wroclaw--for employment--in accordance with existing regulations--of retired ordinary physicians or hospital heads to conduct evaluation of appropriate drug prescription and use. This activity in 1983 will be conducted by way of an experimental procedure.
8. Preparing a program for development of the drug inventory in basic therapeutic categories with participation of the Pharmacological Institute, Pharmacology Commission and Inter-Industry "Drugs" Action Group.
9. Developing and conducting in 1983 discussions concerning alternative concepts of new principles of reimbursement for pharmaceutical products.
10. Putting in operation, in 1983, 96 public pharmacies, 20 pharmacy stations of type I, 82 pharmacy stations of type II and 10 pharmacies at enterprises.
11. Verification of the inventory of pharmaceutical products admitted for sale at pharmacy stations and extrapharmacy outlets.

B. In the area of supply of medical equipment and apparatus:

1. Ensuring in the framework of the operational programs of supply from domestic and imported sources of medical equipment and apparatus mainly for:

1.1. complete fulfillment of basic requirements ensuring problem-free functioning of health service facilities in provision of medical services, primarily:

- supply of consumable treatment articles and equipment for surgery, anesthesiology, intensive medical care, neurology and stomatology;
- meeting the requirements of cardiosurgical, orthopedic and neuro-surgical banks;
- ensuring complete fulfillment of requirements for spare components for basic medical equipment;

1.2. supplies to health service facilities whose departments and laboratories constitute the national network of specialized services with the following priorities:

- pathomorphological laboratories
- regional departments for intensive medical care of infants and neonates
- aerosol treatment centers
- endoscopic, gastrological and pulmonological diagnostic centers
- centers for water treatment in "artificial kidney stations."

2. Continuing activities for development of domestic production of basic health service products, in particular through incentives to development of crafts, industries, cooperative production and Polonia companies, including establishing national and local "Producer Search" associations;

3. Organizational and coordinative activities for setting up production of basic medical equipment and spare parts at organizational units of the health and social welfare ministry, primarily in medical equipment repair workshops and occupational therapy facilities.

4. To organize more efficient distribution of equipment in health service units, the following will be necessary:

4.1. Organizing a system of equipment supply for new projects to counter-act long-term equipment warehousing;

4.2. Rational equipment management through active organizational and technical measures at central, provincial and local levels of health service administration, primarily:

- improved effectiveness of systems and methods of control of medical equipment and apparatus utilization;
- improved effectiveness of technical maintenance service of medical equipment;
- enlarged national network of licensed services of imported medical equipment, with the utilization of medical equipment repair facilities, craftsmanship companies and Polonia companies through supply of spare parts to them;

4.3. Developing a project for equipment of national network of specialized medical services in the following areas:

- nuclear and ultrasonographic medicine;
- computerized tomography;
- endoscopy;
- neurosurgery;
- burn patient treatment.

5. Taking steps to enhance effectiveness of motor car operation in health services.

C. In the area of improvement of the material base:

1. Increasing the efficiency of repair and modernization processes through:  
--development of existing construction and repair facilities;  
--using crafts and cooperative industries for repairs;  
--conducting repair work without stopping the operation of health service and social welfare facilities as afforded by technical conditions and requirements of State Sanitary Inspection.

2. Achievement of the following construction goals:  
--5,205 hospital beds (the local plan being 4,993 and central plan 212);  
--750 places in public assistance housing;  
--54 outpatient clinics;  
--40 prenurseries;  
--50 village health centers.

3. Conducting activities warranting continued construction of health and public service facilities (53 hospitals, 18 public assistance objects, 37 prenurseries, 95 outpatient clinics and 189 health centers).

4. Initiating the construction of five hospitals of a local (Hajnowka, Koszalin, Lodz, Kelce, Bartoszyce) and Pediatrics Institute of the Medical Academy in Katowice; 1,037 places in public assistance houses; 17 prenurseries; 43 outpatient clinics; and 40 health centers.

5. Undertaking efforts to start construction of hospitals in: Grodzisko Mazowieckie, Polanica, Milicz, Ostroleka and Kwidzyn.

6. In the framework of campaign for transfer of facilities for health and social welfare services, bringing into operation in 1983 86 objects, including:

- outpatient clinics, 33;
- public assistance houses, 16, with a total of 1,048 places;
- health centers, 4;
- nurse hostels, 9, for 770 places;
- hospitals and sanatoria, 3, with 334 beds, including 100 sanitarium-type beds;
- prenurseries, 1 for 40 children;
- others, 20.

7. Providing the necessary allocations for health service and social welfare facilities construction, with a total amount of approximately 34 billion zlotys.

8. Actions to eliminate delays and violations in hospital construction on the basis of the provisions of the decision of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers No. 52/82 of 19 August 1982 concerning steps to ensure timely implementation of hospital construction and orders of deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, Z. Komendera and Z. Szalajdy, put on record on 4 December 1982.

VIII. Improvement of the System of Organization and  
Administration of Health Care and Social Welfare  
Services

Effective operation of health service and social welfare requires regular improvement of organization of work and administration methods. The goals set forth in this area for 1983 will be achieved through the following actions:

1. Developing legal documents adjusting the health care and social welfare system to current tasks and principles of functioning in conditions of the economic reform.

This concerns in particular:

- law of health service;
- law of State Sanitary Inspection;
- law of the administration of the minister of health and social welfare;
- decision of the Council of Ministers on coordinated public assistance;
- decision of the Council of Ministers on organization and network of highly specialized medical centers;
- cooperation in developing draft law on people's councils.

2. Effective operation of the office of the minister of health and social welfare:

--issuance of a new organizational regulation ensuring:

- a) appropriate division of functions between administrative units;
- b) combining related assignments in administrative units so as to reduce the number of these units;
- c) outlining the problem areas of an interdepartmental nature and assigning departments responsible for their coordination;
- d) more effective control and supervision of subordinate and controlled units; this concerns in particular the programming and planning of work of the units (execution control, accountability systems, assignment setting systems, etc.),

--developing a concept for creation of ministry's scientific research center in the area of health and social welfare, with emphasis on its purposive orientation. The tasks of the center will include, among others:  
--investigating the health care needs of the population;  
--improvement of existing methods of processing and interpreting statistical data;  
--investigation of functional models of organization and utilization of materials reserves.

3. Developing a model of control of higher schools and scientific research institutes in relation to new legislative decisions, in particular the principles of evaluation of effectiveness of their work.

4. Developing guidelines for defining organization and assignments of health care and social welfare facilities as related to the new law of people's councils and regional self-government, principles of organization of health care and social welfare facilities at the provincial level, with regards to maintaining the structure of health care teams and introduction of new principles of specialist control.

5. Developing recommendations on programming and planning of work at health and social welfare departments, embracing periods and methods of planned control to ensure implementation of key areas in the ministry's activities.

6. Coordinating the inner structures of health service facilities at the district and provincial levels to regulations binding in this area and defining the principles of the organization. Creation in all provinces in 1983 of provincial teams for methodology of health care and social welfare and specialized maternity and child health care teams.

7. Preparing proposals directed at limiting the number of positions staffed on a contest basis, such as contests for ordinary physicians and heads of provincial specialized outpatient clinics.

8. Improved organization and operation of hospitals.

8.1. Fuller introduction of principles of effective utilization of hospital beds and their efficient management, with active participation of specialist supervision through:

--reducing the time of hospital diagnostics, in particular by performing basic diagnostic investigations within three days of patients' admission to a hospital;

--providing current data on available hospital beds to be available from the province's on-call physician;

--proper preparation of patients directed to a hospital;

--adjusting the distribution of hospital beds to existing hospitalization needs, particularly, by way of modifying specialty structure based on evaluation of the utilization degree as well as special inspection.

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CSO: 2600/579

CORBE INTERVIEWED ON DISPUTE OVER UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS

Belgarde NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1678, 27 Feb 83  
pp 20-22

[Interview with Klime Corbe, Director of the Federation Fund for Accelerated Development of the Underdeveloped Republics and Kosovo, by Dragan Jovanovic; date and place not specified]

[Text] At the end of last year and the beginning of this year, both in the Yugoslav Assembly and in the columns of the daily press the debates on underdeveloped republics and Kosovo have been resurrected. Again something is not going as it should. On the one hand, the undeveloped areas are dissatisfied that their distance from the developed areas is not decreasing economically. Furthermore, there are indications that the gap is widening. On the other hand, those who believe that they are investing the most in the undeveloped regions assert that investments are not being used effectively enough. Everyone has his own theory.

Consequently, we turned to whom we regarded to be the most objective party in the situation, Klime Corbe, Director of the Federation Fund for Accelerated Development of the Underdeveloped Republics and the Autonomous Province of Kosovo. His initial statement follows.

"Emotions have never been a good ally in a debate on any sort of topic, nor are they helpful in discussion of the policy of more rapid development of the underdeveloped republics and Kosovo.

"There is no longer a single serious theoretician in the world, or here in Yugoslavia, who in discussing regional development would not confirm the thesis that investments in the underdeveloped regions are not an expression of mercy and compassion, nor even a matter of aid. Rather, regional development is regarded to be of economic or political interest, or even most frequently, both at the same time.

"There are very active and developed systems of regional development even in the most developed countries of Europe. In Sweden, the FRG and Austria, for example, a long-term policy for overall development of each country is to be found everywhere. All of those societies are especially sensitive to such matters, particularly those European states with a federal system, for the

least imbalance in development immediately affects relations between federal units, even in places like Sweden and Germany where there is no multi-ethnic composition. Last year at the meeting of ministers of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Stockholm, the general conclusion was that under the circumstances of general economic difficulties, an active policy of regional development should be maintained, for among other things, it increases the chances for general economic and political stabilization. Even the American representative supported that stand, yet we are talking of solidarity as a benevolence. Whoever speaks in that matter does not know certain basic things. He does not know that a good share of the Fund's capital goes in the form of loans to undeveloped regions, nor does he know that the undeveloped, even including Kosovo, pay their own resources in to the Fund!"

That closed the theme of the "Maribor 7D." That does not mean that the rest of the conversation, in the modest opinion of the undersigned, will be less interesting. Cold numbers and percentages about the easy marking time of the undeveloped, about which Corbe spoke calmly but persuasively, can be much more convincing than the inflammatory theses of Samaritans.

#### Dead Money

The Federation Fund has prepared a final financial report for this year with a report on its operations; it should soon be accepted by the Fund Assembly.

[Question] What does this final report show?

[Answer] During 1981 and 1982 all the objective economic and other circumstances had the effect that self-management pooling of capital and other resources through the Fund was neither in quantity or in quality at the expected level. Including 31 December 1982, the last 2 years have seen about 500 initiations of pooling of capital and other resources based on money from the Fund. Of these 194 led to completed self-management contracts whose preliminary value amounted to more than 98 billion dinars, including 21.9 billion dinars from the pooled resources of the Fund, or 22.3 percent of the preliminary calculated value. But only 13.9 billion, or 36.6 percent of the planned capital, was paid in for pooling in the past two years. With the end of the first 2 years of the 5-year plan in 1983, the obligations of the republics, chiefly unpooled capital amounting to 15.9 billion dinars, will be taken over by the Fund. The Fund will receive that money, but what good is it when for the Fund the money is "dead," outside of its basic function.

In order to understand the matter better, one reminder should be offered. Beginning with 1981, the Federation Fund began to function according to a new "50 : 50" system. What does this formula mean? All the republics and provinces are obliged to make an obligatory loan to the Fund amounting to 50 percent of their obligations toward underdeveloped republics, i.e., to Bosnia and Hercegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Kosovo. Associated labor is to provide the remaining half by investing its resources in the undeveloped regions. If associated labor does not fulfill this obligation, if it does not invest its half of the capital in investments in undeveloped regions, its debt will be tallied up against its republic treasury, which must satisfy the debt by the end of the current year.



We expected greater effectiveness when associated labor began to invest its money directly into its own direct partners, but the opposite happened. Associated labor from developed republics satisfied its obligations toward the undeveloped more slowly than do the developed republics. Let us ignore the fact that about two-thirds of the contracts concluded so far for pooling labor and resources have been based on credit and interest bases, not on income bases, which of course is better than having any sort of intermediary between two direct partners.

Yet it must be stated that the basic hypothesis is not being realized: associated labor from the developed republics is still not sufficiently interested in income-based connections with associated labor from the undeveloped regions. Two years ago we still thought that that was simply a passing difficulty, a period of adjustment for the new "50 : 50" system, but it was repeated last year as well.

[Question] Where is this manifested most drastically?

[Answer] It is felt particularly in Kosovo, to which nearly half of the Fund's resources go, precisely 42.6 percent, which amounts to nearly 90 percent of all investment undertakings in Kosovo! In 1983 we dare not permit that such a large percentage of total resources remain unutilized to be transferred to 1984. That is not in the interest of either the developed or the undeveloped regions. Certainly we do not need to demonstrate to anyone what it means to postpone the utilization of resources that pass through the Fund for the undeveloped, given the high inflation rate and the still incomplete facilities that are being constructed in undeveloped regions.

As things stand, we are not attaining the goals established by the current 5-year plan, which stipulates that the undeveloped regions are to attain a 15-20 percent higher rate of growth in social product than the Yugoslav average, let alone the most important goal that Kosovo achieve a 60 percent higher growth rate than the Yugoslav average. All of that can have unimaginable consequences.

A Return to 1980

[Question] Where does all of this lead us?

[Answer] What we can say now is that in 1985 we will have relatively the same differences between the developed and the undeveloped, naturally, at a somewhat higher level of national income and social product, and with the same problems and situations that we have in 1980!

[Question] Precisely the same?

[Answer] Well, perhaps the best changes will come in the status of Bosnia and Hercegovina, since the most pooling is taking place there. When I say that, I am thinking about two things: about pooling achieved between organizations of associated labor within the republic, which is characteristic of Macedonia as well but not of other undeveloped areas, and pooling with developed republics, within Bosnia and Hercegovina. In part, the interest of associated labor from developed republics for Bosnia and Hercegovina lies in

the fact that it has raw materials for processing into interesting semimanufactured materials. Also, in some branches Bosnia and Hercegovina is more organized than the other underdeveloped republics. The great interest for investments in Bosnia and Hercegovina causes us some difficulties at the Fund, for it disturbs certain proportions for us.

What is involved? About 2.7 billion dinars went to Bosnia and Hercegovina beyond the amount earmarked for that republic in the planned annual capital going through the Fund. Hence this year for a certain period we will have to restrain transfer of capital from obligatory republic loans that would otherwise go to Bosnia and Hercegovina. That is because the expenditure of the extra 2.7 billion dinars in this undeveloped republic automatically meant that much less to go to other undeveloped republics.

[Question] If everything is as you say, except for the bright example of Bosnia and Hercegovina, could the following question be posed: Was the little capital available from the Fund put to good, wise use?

[Answer] First of all, our entire country lacked and lacks a markedly higher level of effectiveness in investments and developmental policy. Many scholars have sought to determine what constitutes an acceptable level of effectiveness for investing in underdeveloped regions. There has been no serious research work that did not confirm that an objectively lower level of economic development determines a lower level of investment effectiveness. In Yugoslavia, is this effectiveness markedly lower in underdeveloped regions? The studies that have been done at the Fund do not provide a basis for such a conclusion. It could even be said that we have had a satisfactory level, naturally, in relative terms, in comparison with overall investment effectiveness in Yugoslavia. Certainly, there are some willful theses that assert that the level of effectiveness of investments should be higher in undeveloped regions than the Yugoslav average, but those are arithmetically highly disputable theses. In that case, who would be undeveloped?

[Question] Yes, but at the December debate in the Yugoslav Assembly, we heard that the gap between the undeveloped and the developed regions would become greater unless the growth rate was fully coordinated with the growth of social product at republic social planning offices. This has also been a topic of public discussion.

[Answer] First, we receive data on growth from republic social planning offices, and cannot control them even if we want to do so. Finally, that is the way all data are gathered at the Federation level, and on their basis resolutions and social development plans are made, more precisely all rights and obligations to the Federation are thus generated.

As far as the widening gap between the developed and undeveloped regions, certain indices exist. According to some data, the very fact that we do not attain the planned growth rate for investment and growth of social product in the undeveloped republics and Kosovo leads to broadening the void, for now that is occurring in minimal parameters.

[NIN] Altogether, this was a different, peaceful story about the undeveloped regions, told without emotion and with rather cold numbers and arguments.